Options

magazine

MARIN'S PROGRESSIVE VOICE WINTER 1991 $2.50

The fight to save the Estero Americano

inside:

Marin's Peace Movement Comes Alive

American Indian photo exhibit by Ilka Hartmann

Moving the Pain on Down: Marin's budgetary woes

Marin Conservation Corps goes to Russia

The printed word is a tool of immense power. It can expose injustice, inspire the disenchanted and unite the divided. It is the printed word that carries the message of movements that rock the world.

There are such movements now growing throughout Marin County. Individuals and small groups are taking action to preserve the environment, battle for human rights, lend aid to the needy, and promote peace. Where is their voice? Where can people, eager to lend support, learn how they can get involved?

Now we have *Options*, a new magazine by and for the progressives of Marin. Published by a team of activists and journalists, including former staff members of THE FAX newspaper, *Options* is a quarterly publication with its finger on the pulse of the emerging world.

Options helps people feel involved

Options inspires people to be involved

This is our third issue of *Options*. We are primarily supported by our subscribers and by businesses listed in the marketplace directory. Please use this directory as they are an important part of our progressive community. If you haven't yet subscribed, use the form below and send it to *Options*, 11 Bolinas Rd. Fairfax, CA 94930

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Options magazine

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Calling all Writers and Artists.

Here's an opportunity to express yourself and work for the causes you believe in. If you would like to contribute to *Options* call 485-5329. We especially need a roving reporter who could keep in touch with local organizations and activities. Any other volunteer help with the magazine, including office help and proofreading would be greatly appreciated.

Help Wanted:

Options needs someone astute in marketing, sales and other fundraising skills. You keep 20 percent of whatever you bring in. Use your sales skills to support the causes you hold dear. Call 485-5329.

Environment

The Bay Institute

The Bay Institute has discovered harmful levels of selenium contamination in the aqueducts which carry water to millions of people in the Bay Area, Southern California and to the San Joaquin Valley farms. Selenium is the chemical that killed thousands of fish and birds at the Kesterson National Wildlife Refuge, where agricultural waste water was dumped. It is one of the most toxic chemicals to fish and wildlife. The Bay Institute has found traces of selenium in ducks in the South Bay, San Pablo Bay and Suisun Marsh. Toxic flow into our bay from cities, refineries, farms and factories is loaded with selenium, pesticides and metals according to William Davoren, Executive Director of the Bay Institute of San Francisco.

The Bay Institute is establishing a Geographical Information System and wetlands database that covers Marin County's shoreline. The institute is pressing for a baywide industrial discharge monitoring system, paid for by oil companies but monitored by an independent body. For more information on this, or on their projects on agricultural drainage, links between cancer and drainage, Suisun marsh and tributaries protection contact: Bill Davoren, Bay Institute, 10 Liberty Ship Way #120, Sausalito 94965.

Green Group to Fight Pesticide Spraying in Schools

Members of Marin Greens have formed a Toxic Action Group to address the presence of pesticides and other poisons in our communities. As their first project, the group will work with concerned students, parents, and school employees to reduce or eliminate the use of pesticides in public schools throughout Marin.

At present, schools frequently spray fields and school grounds with potentially dangerous herbicides. Highly sensitive individuals may become seriously ill or even die from "low-level" exposures, yet students and employees are exposed to these hazards without warning, without monitoring, and without adequate precautions for their health and safety. Contact: Tom Chandreian 459-4388.

Current Action Groups within the Marin Greens include: Eco-Action, focusing on tree planting and environmental preservation and restoration; Education, organizing public lectures, forums and events; and Green Party, working on voter registration, fundraising, and alliance-building in conjunction with the statewide Green Party effort. For more information call the Marin Greens at 45-EARTH.

Dining for Wildlife

The California Center for Wildlife will hold its sixth annual Dining for Wildlife Benefit on March 5, 1991 at 28 top Marin County and San Francisco restaurants. This special dining event is held annually to benefit the Bay Area's rehabilitation center for injured and orphaned wild birds and animals. Located in San Rafael, the Center cares for over 4000 mammals and birds a year, and provides educational programs about local wildlife to schools and the Bay Area public.

Twenty-nine restaurants in Marin and two in San Francisco are hosting the event. For a fixed price (either $30 or $40), each restaurant will present a top-of-the-line multicourse meal. Wine dessert and tip are included. For a list of restaurants and to make reservations call Sammie Dunn at 924-5609.

The benefit raises money for medicine, food, and the educational programs of the Center. It is open to the public Tuesday through Sunday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. the Center's staff is nearly 95 percent volunteer and additional help is always welcome. To volunteer, call 456-SAVE.

Human Services

Marin Abused Women's Services

Each year over 3,600 women call Marin Abused Women's Services for help, many requesting emergency shelter because they are, at that moment, in a life-threatening situation. National statistics and MAWS' own experience shows

women are more at risk in their own homes than anywhere else. Thirty percent of all women treated at Marin County hospital emergency room are battered women. MAWS' work includes an education project in high schools, the Relationship Abuse Prevention Project. Over one third of 3000 teens they surveyed reported at least one violent incident from a date. MAWS has also pioneered a program to help abusive men end the cycle of violence. MAWS is looking for donations of household items for their shelter and the "Second Step," an affordable housing arrangement to help women and their children get back on their feet. MAWS runs three 24-hour hotlines. For women 924-6616, for men 924-1070, and for Spanish speaking women 924-3456. To offer donations or your time, contact: Mercer Jackson, MAWS, 1717 Fifth Ave, San Rafael, 94901

Canal Offers 1991 Calendar

"The Children of the Canal" is a 1991 calendar featuring beautiful photographs of children from 13 different cultures who attend the Canal Child Care Center in San Rafael. The center is a private non-profit State Department of Education child care center that has served low income families in the Canal area for the last 14 years. It is open Monday through Friday and offers a pre-school program for children ages three to five and an after-school program for grades Kindergarten through Second grade. With the assistance of other agencies and special grants, the Center also offers a Parent Services Program for parents, a tutorial program for school age children, a literacy class for parents, and a weekend community respite program that offers child care two Saturdays a month.

All proceeds of the calendars support the Parent Services Project. The calendars are available at Oliver's in San Anselmo and A Clean Well Lighted Place in Larkspur Landing. For information about the center's services and to volunteer, call 457-1444.

Arts and Culture

Betsy Rose Album Release

Renowned performer and recording artist Betsy Rose will have an album release concert to celebrate the release of her new Kaleidoscope Records recording, "Sacred Ground". The concert will be held at La Pena Cultural Center in Berkeley on February 22, 1991 at 8 p.m. Tickets will be $8. La Pena is located at 3105 Shattuck Ave. in Berkeley and can be reached at 849-2568.

Betsy creates music rich with natural joy, music beyond the borders of folk and new age. "Sacred Ground," extending the range of Betsy's previous albums, rings with the depth of Betsy's beliefs and commitment to positive social action. The music is multicultural and earthen, reinforcing faith instead of despair. It's also protest music of the highest form - that which is an expression of positive life more than a simple vote against a negative one. It reflects Betsy's activist experience, which has led her coast to coast in America, to the Australian rain forests, Canada, India and elsewhere. Her previous recording, "In My Two Hands" (Parallax Press, 1990), contained songs based on the teachings of Vietnamese Zen master Thich Nhat Hanh and was recorded in Mill Valley at Green Gulch Zen Center.

Getting Listed

Please send information updates on your organization. If you have already been listed, tell us about your new projects.

To list your organization here, or to have an update, contact: Mitra, Options Magazine Snapshots Editor, P.O. Box 580, Forest Knolls 94933.

Opinion

Why Isn't the Progressive Movement A Political Force?

Consider the following:

The results of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted on January 13 revealed that over 66 percent of Americans believed a conference on the Palestinian issue would be an appropriate concession to averting war in the Middle East. This decisive margin of support for concession and peace was rebuffed the same day by the White House, when it was proposed by the French Government to Saddam Hussein.

In 1984, Nuclear Freeze initiatives enjoyed huge margins of victory in the nation's largest states, yet the federal government acted as though the issue, advisory though the votes were, had never been put before the voters.

In the Bay Area, which had become the Nuclear Free Zone capital of the nation, the NFZ movement was dealt embarrassing defeats in Marin, Alemeda and San Francisco - the region's three most liberal counties.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who built a multi-cultural, multi-racial coalition and came surprisingly close to the Democratic Party's nomination for president in 1984, is now talking about running for Mayor of Washington D.C. His "Rainbow Coalition" abandoned its grass roots, local democracy oriented beginnings and has withered, for all intents and purposes, into a memory.

What is it with the progressive movement? We at times make great strides, come ever so close to building major political movements or achieving major goals. Then, right at the point when we seem to be running at a competitive speed, we get bogged down in process, or become obsessed with the fight or begin to fight among each other. At times it seems the only thing we never fail to do is fail. And all this (regardless of what the mainstream media would have us believe) in the face of a political majority behind us.

A Meal at the Political Table

It was once said that the Democratic Party doesn't succeed because it eats its leaders. It is difficult to say whether or not the Demos learned this from the progressives or the progressives learned it from the Demos, but it is clear that both have the same problem.

The difference is that the farther left one gets from the Democratic center, the more likely it is that the eating will be done with a spoon instead of a knife. That is to say, when the competition is heavy, during primaries or within races for regional posts, candidates within the Democratic party have a tendency to carve each other up to the point that there is little left for the general election or too much polarization to build consensus. Farther to the left, the idea of leadership is rejected to such a degree that anyone who steps up to assume a leadership role is mistrusted and considered power hungry. The would be leader isn't necessarily defamed, but the mere act of taking a leadership role results in diminished credibility with other members of the movement.

In the September, 1990 edition of *New Options*, Editor Mark Satin confronted this very issue in a review of the U.S. Greens' Convention, held in Colorado this past summer. The article discusses in depth how many of the original Greens activists were driven from that particular movement. One case into which Satin delved was that of Christa Slaton, who had spent years working with the organization to forge a national platform. By the end of the convention, at which the platform was to have been ratified after a six year process, Slaton resigned from the Greens.

Satin illustrated an incident during a heated debate on the ratification of the various platforms. Slaton announced that every plank passed at the gathering would go back to the locals. But one Green objected demanding input from every individual. Slaton broke down at that point pleading for the group not to further mire the process in endless debates and missed deadlines.

This opened up a flood of accusations against Slaton, who responded with tears and despair. "I felt so good until two minutes ago," she said. "I feel so wonderful about the overwhelming spirit that's been here. I just wish more of you would appreciate what so many of us have done to this point."

At the end of the Greens conference, according to Satin's article, Slaton's husband announced that she was leaving the group. Following that announcement, John Resenbrink, a Bowdoin professor who had helped start the Greens and who had become an influential leader of the movement, announced his resignation from the group as well. In his parting remarks, he noted the treatment of Slaton:

"We tend to like intelligent people with cold hearts and caring people who are not intelligent. Well, Christa was a wonderful combination of intelligence and caring, and we drove her out."

The Greens managed to walk away from the convention with a preliminary platform and a sense of unity, despite, or perhaps because of, the emotional turmoil that came to the surface.

Process, Process, Process

Slaton's case points up more than how left groups tend to deter leadership. In their attempt to redefine politics and be ultra-democratic, progress is often

painfully slow. Committee work is very often undervalued. A reluctance to put an issue or idea to rest, for fear of preventing any interested person's ability to have input, tends to result in numerous trips back to the drawing board.

The need to reach consensus has become supreme in many left groups. This has its advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, the consensus process achieves unanimous or near unanimous support for the decision at hand. For purposes of policy making and planning, this can be tremendously beneficial. In matters where there is political opposition, within or outside the organization, it can be cumbersome and to a degree crippling.

During Marin's Nuclear Free Zone election last June, the Yes On "A" Committee employed consensus process in its campaign. This decision on the committee's part resulted in a campaign that was slow to act and failed to take command of the campaign. A great deal of time was spent discussing how to respond to the opposition's campaign. Campaign materials were slow to be distributed, as their wording and design were debated over several meetings. So much time was spent talking, that traditional campaign activities such as fundraising and canvassing were neglected. As a result, the Yes on "A" message never really got out and the better financed opposition campaign won easily, despite being conducted almost entirely by two people.

Consensus has been proven to be very effective in small groups where the unifying goals are clear. As groups increase in size the effectiveness of this process becomes more and more unweildy. In those arenas in which speedy action is required, consensus can become a deterrence to success. In the effort to have everyone feeling good, the larger goals of effecting social change are sacrificed.

Caught Up in the Struggle

The progressive movement's gentle side is not the only area in which things get taken too far. Those in the movement more oriented toward direct political action also let the struggle take precedence over the ultimate goal. One need only look at the anti-war protests in San Francisco the night that the Allied offensive began. Thrashing busses and burning police cars are, after all, strange ways to promote peace.

Less dramatic examples of this problem are often carried out once progrssive initiatives meet the mainstream political process. In Marin, the campaign to strengthen the county's existing NFZ ordinance placed equal focus on the enemy - a hired gun from Santa Rosa named Joe Welch who, two years earlier, had lead the campaign against Sonoma County's Nuclear Free Zone initiative. Twice, valuable time was taken away from the campaign to prepare court battles over Welch's campaign tactics. First, campaign organizers forced a change in Welch's proposed ballot language and later a campaign mailer was stopped because it misquoted Superior Court Judge William Stephens. Despite success in court, the pro-NFZ campaign gained little in the way of positive press and, after losing the election, campaign organizers concluded that the time could have been better spent on other aspects of the campaign.

In addition to its fight with Welch, the Marin NFZ campaign wasted a great deal of time in a protracted battle with the Marin Sane/Freeze leadership over the ballot initiative itself.

The Sane/Freeze leadership had argued against putting the initiative on the ballot, fearing that a loss would weaken the existing ordinance. And, the organization gave a luke warm endorsement once the initiative qualified.

Because many of the campaign organizers were members of Sane/Freeze, and because Sane/Freeze was the lead organization during the first NFZ campaign, the organization's participation was considered essential. A move was made to take leadership of the organization during the 1990 annual meeting and election. The end result, after two bitter elections (the first, won decisively by NFZ backers, was nullified on a technicality) was a split board that fought all through the campaign and for months after.

Although the NFZ campaign succeeded in getting access to the organization's mailing list, the time spent fighting for control of Sane/Freeze and a stronger endorsement detracted greatly from the campaign's grass roots activities. And, the rift that was opened in the county's peace movement will be a long time in healing.

Getting the Job Done

One of the county's more effective groups in terms of effecting political change is Marin Action. Largely unknown, the group is a think tank of sorts that serves as a resource for a growing number of progressive community leaders and politicians in the county. Marin Action's beginnings were a classic case of process verses action before it settled into its current role.

When Marin Action started three years ago, it attracted a lot of press and touted itself as the challenger to Marin's "old boy network." In defining its purpose, the group employed concensus process, which slowed the decision making process and turned off an initial wave of enthusiastic members. In its infancy, M.A. saw itself as a grassroots organization that would ultimately attract large numbers of Marinites who were disenfranchised with the county's current political establishment.

M.A. meetings began attracting upwards of 50 people, however most grew tired of the recurring discussion about process and purpose. Soon after the group appointed its first president, he was told not to speak to the press without first clearing statements with the group. This policy resulted in a loss of interest by the local press and the resignation of the president.

Despite what seemed a sudden rise and fall, M.A.'s core group continued to meet. Because members were active in issues such as the jail, social services and the water issue, and because M.A. had conducted a revealing poll on voters' priorities and concerns, candidates and activists continued to use the group as a sounding board.

M.A.'s biggest accoplishments have come in the past two elections. Supervisor Brady Bevis relied on the group for advice and research during her successful campaign last June and she continues to rely on it as a resource. M.A. also played a supporting role in the November campaign against the Transportation Sales Tax (Measure A

on that ballot) and was an advisor to the San Rafael Group that nearly passed the Silvera initiative. Progressive Novato Councilmembers Harry Moore and Ernie Gray keep a close association to the group as well. Its influence is growing as it seeks to draft and groom progressive candidates and support progressive initiatives.

M.A. success is a result of its ability to find its niche and fill it well. Also, it has found the ability to work with groups who share a common goal for change. The organization has had success working with mainstream groups like Marin Conservation League and even conservative groups like Marin United Taxpayers Association (MUTA).

Clearly a balance must be found between good process that creates a sense of unity and inclusiveness and responsive action that furthers the goals of the movement. Furthermore, individual intitiative needs respect and support rather than suspicion and mistrust. If M.A. members can find commmon ground with MUTA to work effectively on issues like the jail and the transportation tax, it seems only reasonable that progressive groups and individuals can set differences aside for the pursuit of common goals.

Lew Tremaine

The U.S. Congress approves war in the Persian Gulf

Manipulating The News

I'm a news junkie. Why, last week I caught myself reading *Time* magazine and watching CNN at the same time. So, I should know a lot about the Gulf crisis, right? Wrong. There's military, Saudi, Israeli and Iraqi censorship. Still, I think I'm getting a good feel for how the war is going. The news I'm missing is how this all happened in the first place.

For instance, were all diplomatic and peaceful means tried? Who knows? Could sanctions, alone, have worked? First the CIA said "yes," and then they said "no". Did they change their mind because of intelligence or to support Bush's battle plans? Were we and Congress being manipulated by the White House? Could be.

Did the West and the Arab League try to resolve the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait prior to the invasion? Or, was Saddam lured into Kuwait by our State Department? Destroying his military machine would not only keep the gulf states happy, it would also deprive Israel of an excuse not to negotiate with the Palestinians. Early reports indicated that the U.S. ambassador to Iraq assured President Hussein that we didn't care about Iraq's border dispute with Kuwait. Since then, no one has been allowed to interview that ambassador. No one even knows where she is.

We had been told that Iraq was amassing troops near the Saudi border. Was it a plan to invade Saudi Arabia or a defensive move to protect their southern flank? Don't know. I don't even know how the President knows.

Just when did "Desert Shield" become "Desert Storm"? Were we waiting for the embargo to work or using the time to place spy satellites over Iraq? When was the decision to double troop strength made? The President waited until after the November election to announce it. But, he wasn't willing to wait for sanctions, Congress or U.N. resolutions. Jordan's King Hussein gave a televised speech a few days after we started bombing Baghdad. I found myself comparing his version of the facts with the news reports from August 2nd to January 15th.

For instance, the King insisted Iraq never intended to stay in all of Kuwait, that Saddam was driven to his defiance by acts of the U.S. and the U.N. The news reports of the Arab League meetings in early August did leave me with the feeling they were working it out.

Then, there was a report that Sadaam Hussein promised to attend a meeting in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. That was around the same time the U.S. was seeking permission to send forces to Saudi Arabia. Next, we hear Saddam has refused to attend the meeting. One has to wonder if Saddam was lying when he stated he did not intend to stay in Kuwait or did he change his mind due to U.S. interference? There was an uncomfortable ring of truth in the King's version of these events. It made me feel manipulated.

Now, let me see, first the U.N. resolution, then the Congressional debates. Republicans assured the Congress that this vote could prevent war. Faced with a united Congress, Saddam might withdraw peacefully. The January 15th deadline, they insisted, did not mean we would attack immediately thereafter.

Still others, mostly Democrats, disagreed, warning Congress that this was most certainly a vote to go to war immediately. Did the Republicans deliberately lie, or were they also manipulated by the White House?

President Bush keeps assuring the world that our only goal is to enforce the U.N. resolutions including "restoring stability in the middle-east". I don't remember any resolution about restoring stability, even by reference. I don't even remember there being stability in the first place, so how can it be restored?

There are some things I feel I know: Kuwaitis want their home back; Saddam Hussein is ambitious, violent and a menace to his neighbors; and no one has any idea how it will all end.

Basically, what the military will say at press briefings, I believe. Patriots work well against scuds. Our forces are motivated and well-trained. We are trying very hard to minimize civilian casualties and protect mosques etc. It is an education to see all that military hardware. Now, I understand cruise missiles. Still, the pool reports from the front, our bases and battle ships do have an air of "military issue". One gets the feeling that reporters who take any initiative are in danger of losing their press passes. There's also a new rule that a military escort must go with every reporter. For the first time in our history, no pilot, tank driver, maintenance person, may speak to a reporter without a military escort present. Military secrets or political manipulation, one can only guess.

We are told that we have destroyed two nuclear facilities in Iraq. Was there any nuclear fallout? Don't know. What happens when gas and biological weapons plants and storage facilities are bombed? At one of the military briefings, a reporter asked this question. He was told that great care is taken to use only bombs which absolutely prevent any environmental danger. But, no one explained how.

I bet most people who voted for George Bush didn't expect two wars in two years. He never said anything about a "new world order" during the campaign. He said he didn't have any "vision thing". Hitler talked of a "new world order". The President must have forgotten. Giving him the benefit of the doubt, I decided he meant fighting agression with a "kinder, gentler", worldwide, peaceful embargo. Now that, I could support.

Alas, it soon became clear that "new world order" was nothing but the same old, same old "Pax Americana". The U.S. as world policeman, spending our resources on the military, enriching arms merchants while the world drowns in famine and environmental neglect.

I'm worried about this war. From August 2nd on, there have been too many surprises. The President, the generals, they all seem so confident. I may be suffering from some Viet Nam complex, but with Saddam the new Saladin and George the new Caeser, I'm getting scared. I keep thinking, "pride goeth before a fall".

Nancy Gray

State Of Denial

In the last quarter of 1989, economic columnists and reporters in the mainstream press searched for the precise words to convey their perceptions of the present state of the national economy. "Deteriorating," "disintegrating," "eroding," "free-falling," and "collapsing," were the words most frequently used.

This writer, in describing his own perceptions of the state of the national economy, would offer the words "novaing" (as a star novas), and "imploding".

Indeed, the Wall Street Journal, (easily one of the most widely respected economic reporting publications), openly introduced the possibility of a full-fledged depression in the United States of America this year.

Almost all leading economic indicators commonly used (such as housing starts, machine tool orders, help-wanted advertisements, lineage, etc.) as well as legions of private indicators show the economy to be just about what it was during the depths of the 1982 recession, and the economy is still diving with no bottom in sight.

Even the Bush administration now cannot keep up the facade of confidence, and Mr. Bush has stated that "It does appear, indeed, that we have entered a recession."

He has finally had to state what has been common knowledge among economists and ordinary citizens alike since July of last year.

With so many economic crises converging on the nation this year, it is impossible for this writer to see when the decline will end and growth begin, if it happens at all, in this century.

Under the present economic conditions, and policies, it would appear that for most Americans, things simply aren't going to get any better.

The reasons for this impending collapse of historic proportions have been examined endlessly, and no great new insight could be offered in this space by an exhausting rewriting of the autopsy.

Some of the principal reasons offered should be cited, however.

The collapse of the Savings and Loan industry, due to deregulation under the Reagan administration, and the corruption of the industry (helped by the collusion of the government), has been cited as a key factor.

So has poor social policies in education, an exploding federal budget, and horrendous inflation in cost-of-living, coupled with a loss of real gain in purchasing power of the people over the last decade.

An economy based upon consumption of non-renewable resources was encouraged and pressured upon the people by private industry, (again, with the collusion of the government), and this proved, ultimately, to be the downfall of the republic, economically.

Finally, the factor of climate change, which brought about record heat waves and harsh freezes throughout the past decade took a devastating toll in countless areas of the economy, ranging from loss of farm employment and astronomically high heating bills to changes in building seasons, water hook-up availability, and the loss of Christmas shopping days due to inclement weather.

It is this writer's opinion that this final factor of global warming was the most major negative affect upon our consumer economy.

For the past three years, the citizenry have been bombarded daily by the mass media with ample proof that the planet was in serious ill-health.

They looked to their president, Mr. Bush, to take a position of leadership in addressing this grave matter of climate change. Yet Mr. Bush's administration is the only national administration in the world that has taken the position that the danger of global warming has not been proven and more research is needed.

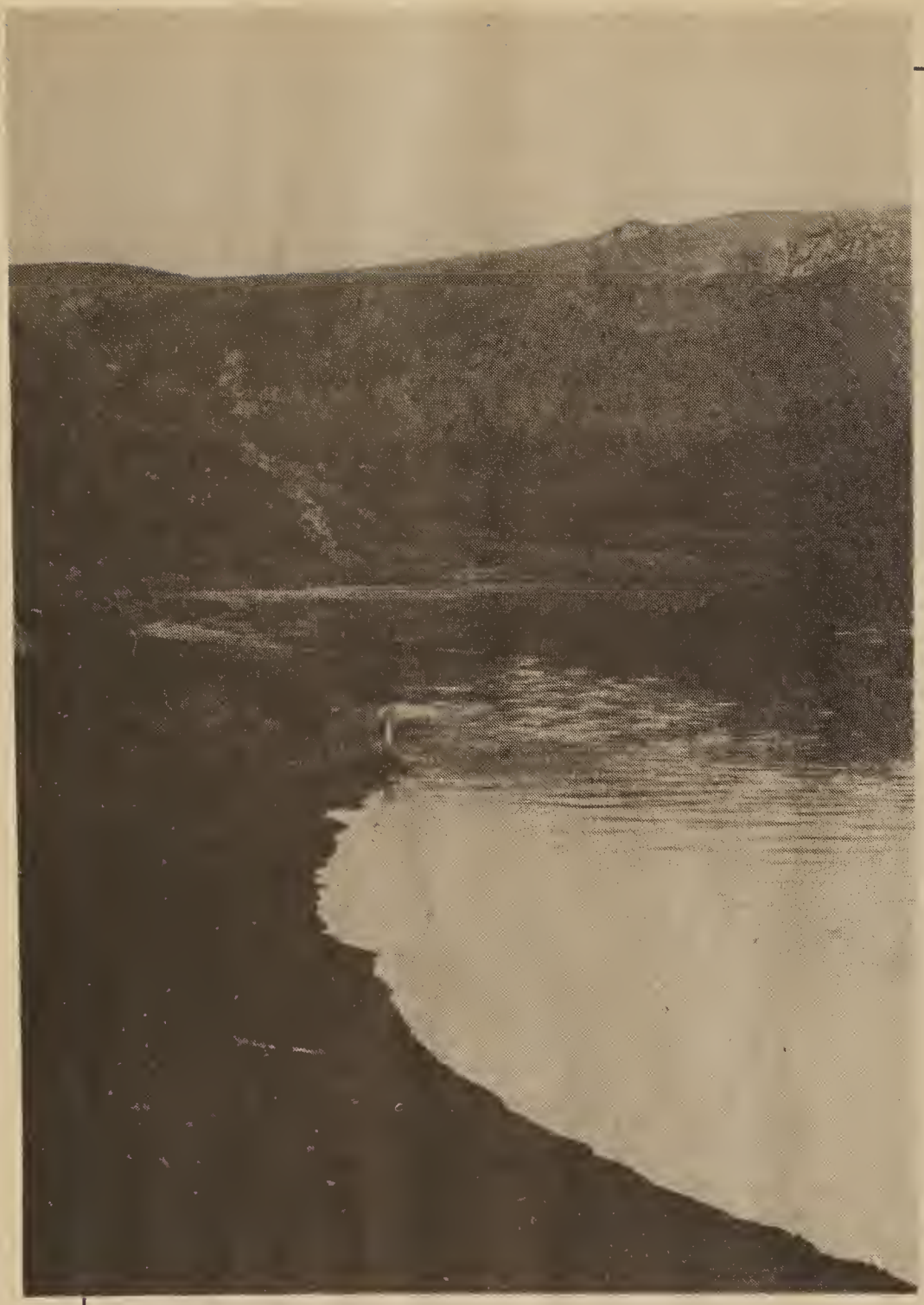
It became apparent that Mr. Bush would practice the politics of denial of all of the grave crises converging on our nation, and so the consumer confidence level has plummeted.

The people simply lost faith in their future, and radically changed their spending habits over the past three years, in preparation for a most uncertain tomorrow. To address the present domestic economic collapse, Mr. Bush hopes, obviously, to enter the nation into a major war, as a last ditch effort to revive the consumer economy.

Adolph Hitler wrote that "In order for a country to survive economically, it must have war every fifteen to twenty years." Apparently, Mr. Bush is a supporter of Mr. Hitler's economic policies. Hitler didn't have to deal with the 'Greenhouse Effect', however.

D. Allen Frensley

The Fools, They're Burning Her Up!!!



Who Will Santa Rosa Dump On Next?

by Jill Kramer

Environmentalists aren't taking any crap from Santa Rosa. The city's present sewage water disposal system is inadequate, thanks to years of drought and uncontrolled urban growth. But as city planners cast about for alternatives, they are opposed by environmental groups at every turn: no more in the Russian River...keep it out of the esteros...no, not in the bay...and please, not in the ocean!

Coalitions of ranchers, on the other hand, are lobbying to get the water -- highly treated effluent that approaches drinking water quality. City officials have been known to down a glass of the stuff to prove their point at public meetings.

A draft environmental impact report has been presented to the Santa Rosa city council on several sewage plan alternatives, only one of which was studied in detail. This "preferred alternative" is the West County Plan, which involves building one large reservoir in the Two Rock area west of Petaluma, using the water for irrigating nearby ranchland and releasing a certain amount of surplus to the Estero Americano (on the

Marin-Sonoma border). The Estero de San Antonio, just north of Dillon Beach in Marin, would also receive runoff.

Another, more expensive, option is the South County Plan, which calls for the construction of nine reservoirs irrigating agricultural lands east of Highway 101 and discharging some effluent to San Pablo Bay. The plan would preserve agriculture and open space in an area that would otherwise be a prime target for development -- an idea clearly not embraced by pro-growth forces.

The cheapest alternative is dumping it in the ocean, an option decried by environmentalists, ranchers and city officials alike.

The deadline for public comments on the EIR was February 14. If the council decides in favor of the West County Plan, as the city hopes, a final EIR could be approved in early March and work on the project could begin immediately afterward. That's assuming the city isn't stopped by a federal injunction brought by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and a lawsuit from the Environmental Action Committee. It also assumes the cooperation of at least two property owners, one of whom breathes fire at the very suggestion he sell.

The most likely scenario is that councilmembers will ask consultants to come up with a new plan that will combine the best features of both the West County and South County options. This would be yet another delay in a project now six years in the works.

Santa Rosa generates about 6 billion gallons of wastewater each year, more than 25 percent of which is reclaimed and used for irrigation in the summertime. During the winter, treated water is discharged into the Russian River. In a year of normal rainfall, the system works well: the river receives wastewater at a rate of no more than one percent of its flow, the ceiling established by the North Coast Regional Water Quality Control Board.

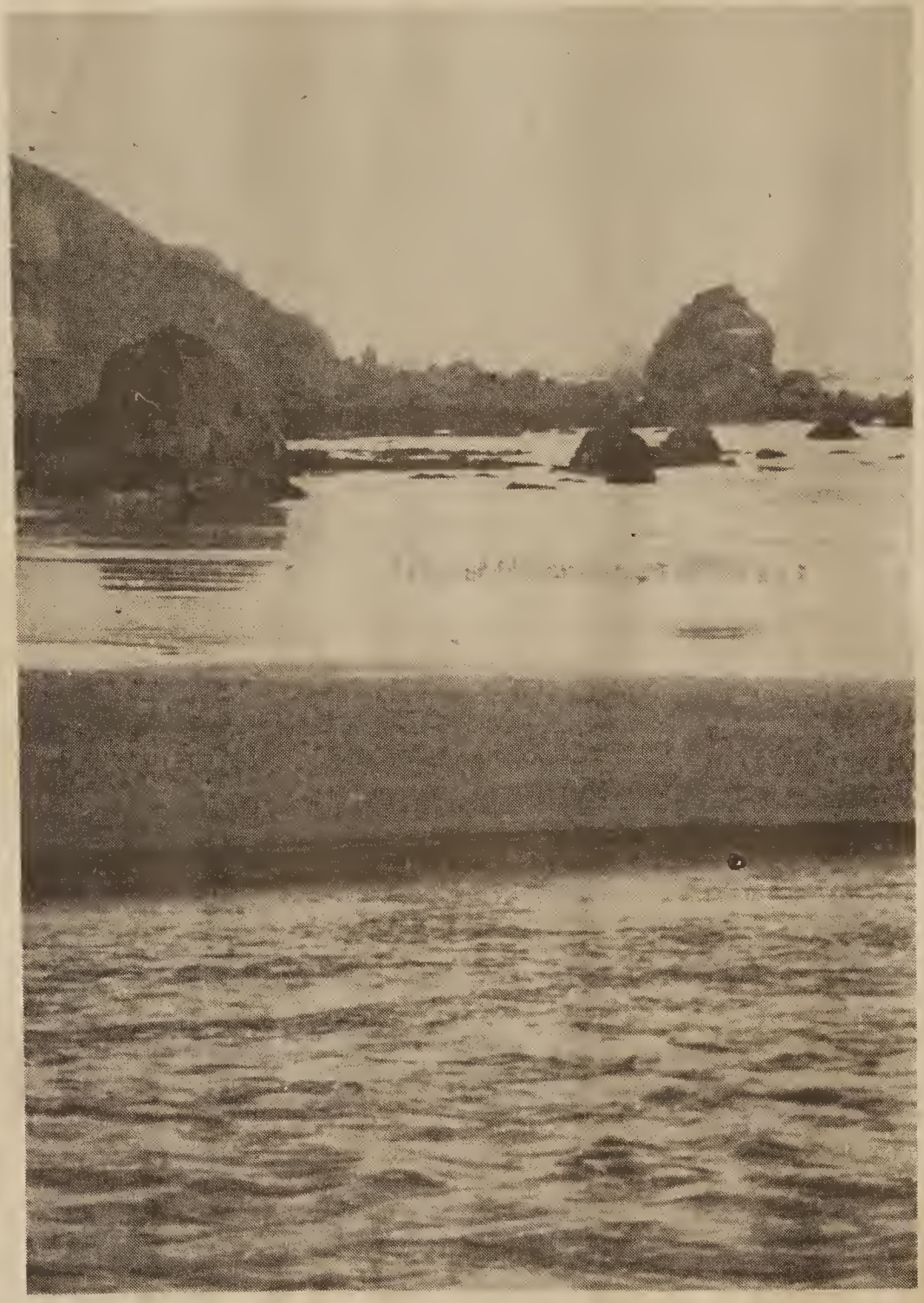
With the drought, however, the river is often too low even in the winter to accommodate the city's needs at the one percent rate. Since 1985, the water board has allowed for emergency discharges up to five percent, which is what the river receives these days. The city, however, has been ordered to come up with a better alternative by 1995. The new sewage plan must provide a system for storage and discharge, independent of weather, to meet projected needs through 2010.

The Contest in the West

With maximum reuse of the water one of the city's key objectives, the West County Plan looked at first glance like an ideal solution. Plenty of acreage was available for irrigation, there was a big valley that could easily be dammed and flooded for storage, and surplus water could be released into creeks feeding esteros tucked away in a rather inaccessible, sparsely populated section of the county. The city expected no opposition. In fact, early on, the plan enjoyed the support of groups like California Department of Fish and Game and Trout Unlimited, which was read as an indication that environmentalists would jump on the bandwagon.

As it turned out, environmentalists were hopping mad. So were the local fish and shellfish growers, some of the area's ranchers and the NOAA staff of the Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary, whose jurisdiction includes the two esteros.

The plan actually violates conditions set by the water board, which prohibits any wastewater discharge to streams and estuaries. This obstacle, however, can be overcome by persuading the board that any adverse effects would be offset by environmental benefits. This is the essential purpose of the EIR: to present a case that wastewater would be *good* for the esteros!



The city's consultants found that years of cattle grazing have eroded streambanks and polluted the water, conditions the city plan promises to correct. Environmentalists counter that these are two of the last healthy estuaries in the state, highly prized for their pristine beauty. They also contest many of the city's claims regarding the benefits of flushing the creeks with wastewater. Finally, they say, many of the city's useful suggestions -- such as fencing off the cattle and keeping animal waste out of the streams -- could and should be implemented without flooding the valley with sewage water.

Many of the technical reports upon which the EIR is based were trashed in a review published last June by NOAA, whose scientists found the reports biased, contradictory and riddled with errors and unfounded assumptions.

Dan Carlson, the city's project coordinator, believes that differences between the two agencies can be worked out. "The Marine Sanctuary scientists feel there is a flow that would have some beneficial impacts on the estero," he says. "Our scientists and their scientists just disagree as to what that number is."

Not according to Sanctuary manager Ed Ueber. "You have a saline environment (in the estero) and you can't dilute it with fresh water and not expect some change," says Ueber. "Fresh water is poison to salt animals." Ueber tells of several meetings with city officials in which he stated this position. Undaunted, the city looked for a different answer from the Washington headquarters of the NOAA, and was rebuffed again.

At this point, the city has backed off from its original discharge plan of 1.3 billion gallons a year. Carlson now proposes to "start out with very little to no flow" and increase releases

gradually, monitoring the effects each year. Assuming no adverse effects, the city would expect to eventually be able to reach the desired flow level.

For Ueber, this scenario is unacceptable. "We're talking about a 20-year project," he says. "This would be a chronic problem. Once the chronic conditions start showing up, there's nothing you can do."

Carlson feels it's ironic that the city is meeting with so much environmental opposition when it's seeking an environmentally responsible reclamation alternative to ocean discharge, despite the added cost. "At times it seems we're being pushed into building an ocean outfall."

What Price Paradise?

If environmental objections don't stop the West County project, inability to acquire a dam site could. The ideal site is on a dairy ranch owned by Joe Tresch, whose fierce love for his land makes him a formidable opponent for the city. Equally passionate is his neighbor, John Mattos, who owns the site eyed by the city as second-best. In between these two ranches is grazing land that University of California leases to Tresch.

With water on their properties all year round, Tresch and Mattos are two of the most prosperous ranchers in the area. Tresch's ranch was bought by his great-grandfather in 1912; Mattos' family has owned his place since '44. They both grew up there, they both work their own ranches every day.

The rolling hills between the two dairies are grazed not just by cows, but by a large herd of deer. The thickly wooded valley teems with wildlife. "This is God's country," says Tresch. "It would be like damming up Yosemite." Both men have stated publicly, time and again, that there is no amount of money that would induce them to give up any of their land.

"Money doesn't mean much to me," says Tresch. "I've got all the money in the world I need. I've been running around these hills for 43

Ranchers John Mattos and Joe Tresch

years and they're out here telling me how I'm gonna make money doing this and that...They've all got more degrees than a thermometer and there ain't a damn one of them knows which end of a cow gets up first. If they give me all this money, I'd just look for something that I've got already, and I don't think I could find it. So what's the sense?"

If it weren't for the terrifying prospect of condemnation, the idea that either rancher would sell out to the city would be laughable. You can't bribe someone who already owns paradise; you can only threaten to take it away.

The city has a policy against condemnation, and it may have no choice but to honor it. In a show of solidarity, ranchers who are eager to receive reclaimed water have sworn to refuse it if the city resorts to condemnation. Even so, Tresch and Mattos are leery of relying on the promises of thirsty neighbors and desperate bureaucrats.

Too much wastewater is not the only result of Santa Rosa's unchecked growth; city planners are also worried about too much garbage. The same lovely valley that has been earmarked for flooding has also been identified as a great place for a dump. Tresch and Mattos wonder if the dump plans are being used as leverage in the sewage plan; if they don't cooperate with the city now, the UC grazing land next door might one day be filled with garbage.

Even without the cooperation of either Tresch or Mattos, the city could still flood the valley with a dam on UC land only, although such a reservoir would have only half the storage capacity of what the city will ultimately need. In this eventuality, the city could either build a second reservoir east of the freeway and send the surplus to ranchers there, or try to get permission for increased discharge to the Russian River.

Until a plan is selected and the final EIR certified, no funding for the project is available and no negotiation can take place. In the meantime, UC has never closed the door to an offer. If UC proves unwilling to sell -- or if the council rejects the West County Plan -- the project will be delayed until another EIR can be pulled together, studying another option in detail.

The South May Rise Again

Many opponents of the West County plan are rooting for the South County option. They say ranches east of the freeway are in a better position to utilize large amounts of irrigation water than ranches in the west. The south county has warmer weather more conducive to crop-growing, and more stable soil to hold the water.

In fact, the profitability of crop farming on either side of Highway 101 is questionable. Most of the land is now used for dairies and horse ranches, although there are some vineyards in southern Sonoma. The climate and geology of the Two Rock area, however, make farming there especially inappropriate.

"Most of them want the water for the cows to drink," says Tresch, "and that's not gonna make the project fly. One day's discharge from the city of Santa Rosa would be enough water for all the cows in Two Rock, Bloomfield and Valley Ford that need it, for the whole duration of the summer."

Yet, the city insists that it can irrigate about 7500 acres in the west, as opposed to about 4300 in the south. In addition, city estimates show the South County plan is much costlier -- $55 million to build nine reservoirs versus $37-47 million for one in the west, depending on which dam site is used. Another drawback is the wetlands loss: more than 200 acres of wetlands would be inundated in the south, as opposed to 22 acres or less in the west.

The prospect of such a loss would be expected to raise the hackles of any environmentalist; but most are backing the South County Plan as relatively harmless.

One explanation is that many observers just don't trust the city's assessments. "If the consultants can undersell the South County enough, they could convince the council to go with the West County," says Richard Charter of Friends of the Esteros. The EIR has been widely attacked for exaggerating both the environmental and financial costs of the South County Plan while minimizing benefits; likewise, critics charge, the West County Plan has been made to look unrealistically attractive.

Another explanation for environmental support of the South County plan is "NIMBYism" -- Not In My Back Yard. Barbara Salzman, member of several local environmental groups, believes that many activists, in their zeal to protect their own turf, lose sight of problems elsewhere.

The South County Plan is appealing to many environmentalists because of the open space issue. If the city were to commit to irrigation in the south, it would have to ensure that land now used for agriculture is not developed. Approval for this plan must be granted by the San Francisco Regional Water Quality Control Board since it would involve releases to San Pablo Bay. The board would probably require the city to obtain agreements from ranchers to receive irrigation water for terms of at least 15 years.

This could account for some of the city's preference for going west rather than south. If south county farmers sold out, or if irrigation were to prove unfeasible, the San Francisco water board could resort to drastic measures -- such as limiting sewer hookups -- to keep the water out of the bay. On the other hand, if the city chooses the West County Plan, it would continue to deal with the North Coast board, as it has for years. If irrigation plans fall apart there, the water board is likely to be much more forgiving, give the city an "A" for effort and allow increased discharges in the Russian River.

City officials revealed their reluctance to deal with the San Francisco water board some years ago when they proposed a plan, obviously designed for defeat, to discharge directly to the bay with no irrigation. One observer likened the city's approach to rape on the first date.

Most environmentalists resent Santa Rosa's attempts to dump the problems of its own uncontrolled growth in other jurisdictions -- either San Pablo Bay or the esteros of Marin. They seem to regard the city as a child with a bedwetting problem: if you can't hold your water, don't try to get in bed with us.

The city has recently begun to recognize the virtues of control. A water conservation program has been put in place. The planning commission has capped the number of new units each year to 1000, which is about what it's been lately anyway. But in the last city council election campaign, there was some talk of a 500 unit limit, and the newly elected council is considerably less growth oriented than the old one.

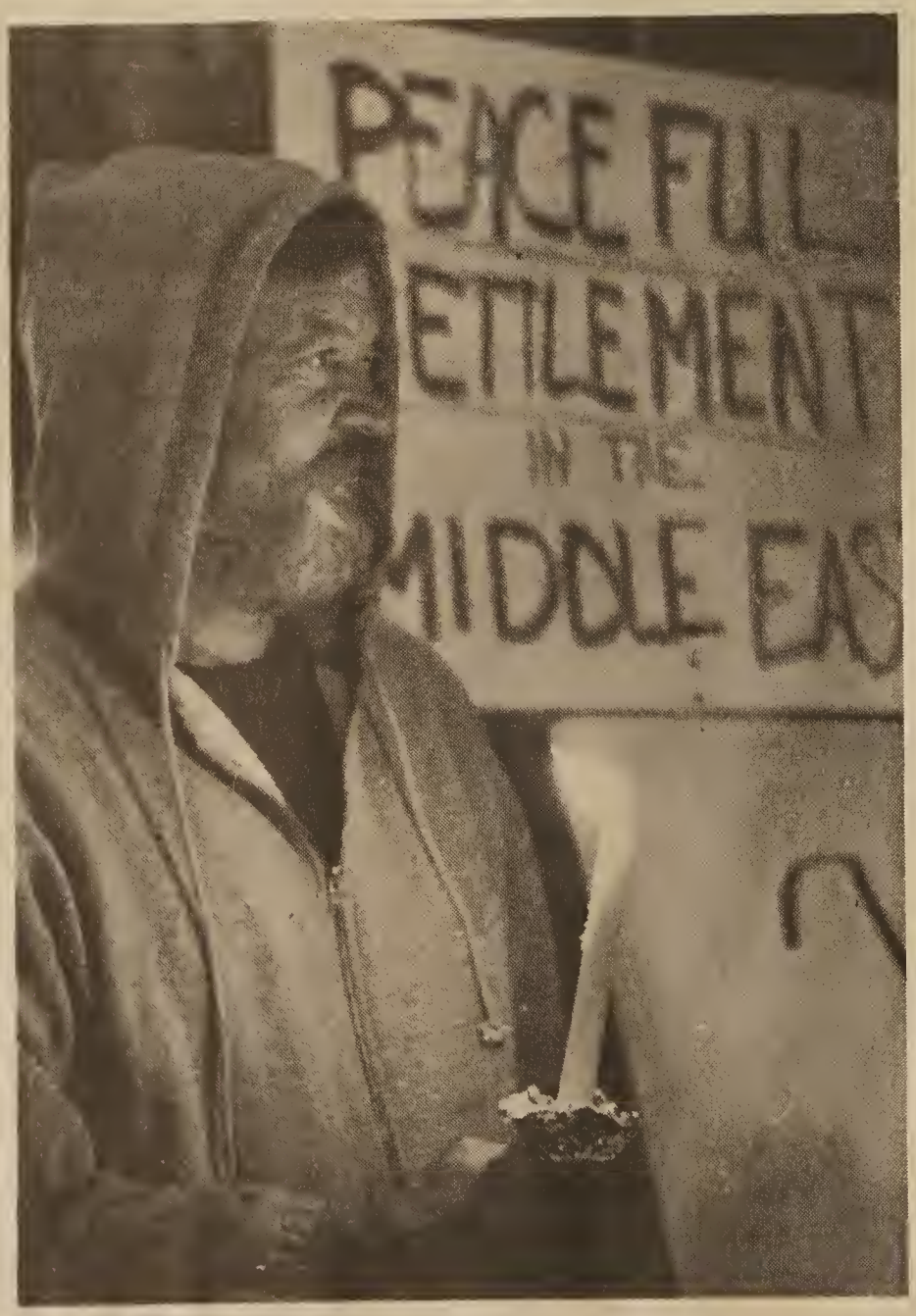
This shift in the balance of power may work in favor of the South County Plan. If one of the city's reasons for avoiding it in the past has been to keep the area available for development, this factor of the equation has now lost some of its weight. And with new faces on the city council as well as a conscientious reclamation plan, chances are good the plan would be well received by the San Francisco water board.

A majority of councilmembers are now leaning toward a hybrid plan that would provide irrigation to both western and southern Sonoma ranches with little or no release to the esteros, and minimal discharge to San Pablo Bay. City council newcomer Maureen Casey is hopeful that such a plan would be feasible without flooding the Two Rock valley, although she acknowledges that it would be expensive.

The council will have to weigh environmental concerns against the concerns of water district ratepayers, who will ultimately foot the bill for the project. The unfortunate outcome may be that, if the environment doesn't get dumped on, the ratepayers will.

Out of the Hot Tubs and Into the Streets

Mideast Crisis Awakens Peace Movement in Marin



by Wendi Kallins

If it wasn't so frightening it would have been euphoric. While the leaders of this country moved us closer and closer to the brink of war, the peace movement mobilized as it had never done before. When war finally was launched the response was unprecedented. Comparing these days to the anti-war movement of the sixties would miss the mark. That movement took five years to grow and flourish before eventually prevailing.

This time it happened seemingly overnight. Within weeks of the first troop mobilization people were taking to the streets, writing and phoning their representatives. Mailings went out calling for action. Phone banks were activated. The

generation that had stopped the Vietnam war, that had supposedly turned into self-seeking yuppies, proved that they were not in fact gone, only dormant. When President Bush sent off troops to the Saudi desert he awakened a sleeping giant. Now there are nightly candlelight vigils, roadside human billboards, demonstrations nearly every day. High school students have marched down the streets of Larkspur and San Anselmo, elementary school kids have stood with their parents outside the San Geronimo School, and on the fateful night of the first bombardments, 200 people gathered at the Mill Valley town square and 300 in Point Reyes for prayer, song, and a sense of community.

Meetings that once held a handful of dedicated volunteers swelled to 40 people and then to hundreds. Spontaneous demonstrations sprang up around the county in San Rafael, Larkspur, San Anselmo, Mill Valley, Fairfax and Point Reyes attracting anywhere from 20 to 300 people. Peace organizations found themselves flooded with callers. And people who had never been involved in politics before showed up asking for something to do.

Early Warning Systems

Much of the early activity against the war was centered in established peace organizations. The Marin Center for Peace and Justice was one of the first to jump into action. Formed in 1983, the Peace Center acts as a central clearinghouse for social change, publishing a monthly calendar and providing meeting space and technical support for Marin's progressive community.

On August 2, when President Bush first ordered troops to the Gulf and the American people were apparently behind him, the phones at the Peace Center began to ring. Within a week the number of incoming calls had tripled. Now there is a second line added and the phones ring constantly. Newly trained volunteers handle 40 to 50 calls a day.

A new committee was formed for Peace in the Middle East and began planning actions. The first action was a vigil in the evenings at Fourth and Hetherton in San Rafael, where protesters held signs up to the harried commuters to bring the troops home. "This was when there was really strong public support for the war," said boardmember Don Carney. "But we were experiencing the opposite on the streets. There was more positive response than we'd ever experienced [in our vigils for Central America]." The vigil continued for about two months until it became too dark in the evenings and began again on November 15 both mornings and evenings in San Rafael and Mill Valley. Over 150 people could be seen on the evening before the war, waving home-made signs and cheering when cars responded.

The vigil was followed in mid-November with a Mideast dinner with speakers, music and food of the Middle East. A car caravan of 50 snaked through the streets of Marin on December 1 headlining the evening news. On January 24 a seminar was held on the draft that attracted an overflowing crowd. The center now has drop-in draft counseling every Monday night.

The Middle East Committee continues to be the central stage for much of Marin's activity. Tuesday evenings have become orientation meetings, where an average of 50 people a week are brought up to speed and plugged into action groups. There are task forces working on improving media coverage, reaching out to stu-

dents, education and tabling and special events. A rally is planned on February 23 at Albert Park in San Rafael at 11 a.m.

Marin Beyond War also sprang into action early speeding a mailing off to its members to spur them to respond. The packet included a reprint from the *Los Angeles Times* of an opinion piece by Roger Fisher, author of *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*. In the article Fisher outlined ways in which Hussein could have been persuaded to leave Kuwait through negotiations that would settle Iraq's grievances without the appearance of rewarding his aggression. Beyond War members were urged to forward this article to both Bush and the U.N.

Beyond War is currently co-sponsoring an effort to put ads in local papers with the message "Peace is Patriotic". This is meant to counter the propaganda from the

Big Stick Diplomacy

When George Bush launched his bombing raid on Iraq he stated that the U.S. had "done everything in its power to bring about a peaceful resolution." This could not be farther from the truth. In fact, the United States was the major obstruction against any negotiated settlement, dismissing out of hand any diplomatic offers from every arena.

When Secretary of State James Baker finally met with Iraqi foreign minister Aziz in Geneva, he came not with diplomacy in hand, but with threats and ultimatums. He then walked away saying that the Iraqis were not interested in negotiating. However, as early as September Iraq was putting forth offers of a negotiated settlement. Hussein floated the possibility of allowing Iraq to retain a two mile portion of Kuwait or at least access to the ports. Later Hussein hinted at a position that the mere assurance of an international conference on all of the regional problems might move him. Each time, these suggestions were summarily rejected by the Bush administration.

Clearly the Bush administration had no intention of conducting diplomacy. It was adamant that there would be no negotiations and there can be no diplomacy without negotiations.

Peace activists do not support the use of force and aggression, quite the contrary. What is questioned is the double standard that makes force wrong for a Saddam Hussein, but acceptable for the U.S. - in Grenada, Nicaragua, Libya, Panama, and now in Iraq. "To abandon sanctions at this time," warned Alan Barnett back in December, "makes the possibility of sanctions being used in the future unlikely. We have a relatively peaceful means of resolving the conflict and beginning negotiations for the whole Middle East."

pro-war lobby that to oppose the war is somehow unpatriotic. Donations help fund the continued advertising.

Beyond War was formed in Palo Alto as an educational organization dedicated to the concept that war, as a means of resolving conflict, is obsolete because of the threat of nuclear weapons. The group is unique among peace organizations for its appeal to the moderate and even conservative citizens.

Marin Sane/Freeze also sent out a mailing after the troops were called up and has followed with monthly newsletters to its 900 plus membership. Sane/Freeze is the largest national peace organization in the country, formed to promote a freeze of all nuclear weapons and promote a sound energy policy.

Sane/Freeze's current project is to institute a global Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) to end the testing of all nuclear weapons. Currently in effect, the test ban treaty of 1963 ended all atmospheric testing but allowed countries to continue to test underground. A CTB would end nuclear testing of any kind.

Dian Allen, Marin's director of Sane/Freeze pointed out that Bush capitalized on the threat of Iraqi nuclear capability, yet Iraq was one of the nations that supports a CTB while the U.S. remains the major stumbling block in the United Nations to passing such a resolution.

A relative newcomer to the peace scene is an organization called 20/20 Vision, formed along congressional lines. Marin's sixth Congressional district was the second chapter formed in the nation. A subscription service, its aim is to focus on the arms race by cutting military spending and insuring there is money for environmental and human needs. "There are a lot of well-meaning people overwhelmed with information who don't do anything although they feel the need to take action," explains Elaine Gutstadt of the local chapter. "We make calls to Washington to find out what is going on at a particular time, what bill is coming up and when Congress is taking a vote. We then send out a postcard giving succinct background information sufficient to write a letter or make phone calls." Key contacts are included along with phone numbers and addresses.

For the last three months 20/20's subscribers have been focusing on the Gulf Crisis. In December the message went to Secretary of State Baker urging for a CTB and peace in the Gulf. In January Congress was flooded with letters urging restraint. In February the focus will be on the environmental consequences of the war.

Those most at risk as the war escalates are the young - those already called to the front and those living under the threat of a renewed draft. Students for Social Responsibility (SSR) at College of Marin, recognizing the imminent threat to the young, began tabling weekly to inform students that there were other options. At the end of October, with elections just a week away, SSR brought Erik Larsen to campus to talk to the young adults about his own transformation from a Marine to an anti-war activist. Larsen addressed a crowd of 150 students gathered on College of Marin's lawn outside the student center. It was a larger gathering than Earth Day according to Bob Walker coordinator for SSR.

Larsen was a lance corporal with the 4th Light Anti-aircraft Missile Battalion at Hayward. While still in the reserves, Larsen is seeking conscientious objector (CO) status and has become an outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy. Larsen explained that his education came from Bay Area peace organizations that opened his eyes to the true purpose of the U.S.'s military intervention around the globe:

not to protect and defend freedom and democracy, but to further corporate interests. "We [the working class] are on the front lines," he pointed out. "We are the ones feeling the fragmentation grenades ripping through our flesh. We're the ones breathing the chemical weapons gas into our lungs. We're the ones hearing the screams of our buddies in the middle of the night."

SSR worked together with other peace organizations to conduct a teach-in on the College of Marin campus on February 6. Many local high school students joined in the event. They are continuing their efforts to assist young men concerned about the draft and tabling on campus to educate people about the war.

Spontaneous Combustion

Not all of the anti-war activity came out of established organizations. Many projects were spawned by individuals moved to act on their own volition. Mill Valley, for example, was the first town to form a group in response to the Gulf Crisis. Alan Barnett remembers when Mill Valley was the first town council in the nation to pass such a resolution against the Vietnam war in 1968.

Barnett helped coordinate a September 12 town forum on the Gulf Crisis which attracted over 200 people, and from that meeting came a resolution presented to the town council to oppose military action. The council unfortunately hid behind a policy that allowed them to deal only with local issues. A December 3 candlelight vigil and march to Mt. Carmel auditorium attracted over 300 people, but, with the exception of councilmember Warren Levinson, the council still did not budge.

The group tried again on January 7, handing the council a petition with 1400 signatures, but the best they got was the agreement by the council to forward the petition to Washington with a cover letter on town stationery. Barnett feels the council is out of touch with its constituency. "There are a lot of activists in Marin," he said. "Marin has a lot of independent thinking, progressive people." Mill Valley for Peace in the MIddle East continues its activities with weekly vigils every monday night, teach-ins at city hall and draft counseling. They are also working with the students at Tam High where 30-40 young people are meeting weekly to discuss their concerns.

The Fairfax Town Council was the first official body in Marin to pass a resolution asking for restraint from force. This stemmed from another grassroots group that formed spontaneously to hold weekly vigils in the center of town during evening rush hour. Marie Dern and Carolyn Botts had not been active in years, but when the troops started moving they felt compelled to do something. "I heard on KPFA where all these demonstrations were taking place," said Dern. "I thought, 'I don't want to drive, so let's do our own.'" After a few phone calls and some hastily posted flyers about 20 people showed up that Friday. Their numbers swelled to 40 the next week and by the time the January 15 deadline loomed, over 100 people were gathered with candles and signs amid honking and waving from passing cars.

West Marin also acted, starting vigils in January that grew to over 300 people. Vigils continue nightly across from the Bank of America, with a few people keeping the flame alive.

Other people acted as individuals, such as Lagunitas resident Marty Meade, the mother of draft age sons who hosted a draft counseling workshop at her home

that attracted 25 young people and parents. Meade then trained at a Berkeley workshop put on by Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) to become a counselor herself. "I'm not a joiner," she said, "but I felt that I had to do something."

Meade now finds herself much in demand working closely with another group that formed of its own volition, Parents for Peace. Over one hundred people came to their first meeting in January, all parents of draft age boys worried about their sons' future. Concern has now spread beyond draft age boys as the military announced intentions to call up medical people of all ages.

The Marin Greens, normally focusing on environmental issues, began circulating a petition to make Marin a sanctuary protecting conscientious objectors and organized non-violent trainings. They also began compiling information on the environmental consequences of the war.

The media has been a focus for action as well. *The Tiburon Ark* ran articles from native son Gaber Ets-Hokin who is on the front lines in Saudi Arabia yet, in the face of the military's disciplinary threats questions the war. Ads are run in local papers. One full page ad in the *Independent Journal* turned into two pages with people's financial support. Other individuals hand out flyers to urge people to contact the press and demand more coverage, to write to our servicemen overseas, to become penpals with people in the Middle East.

Resolutions were passed by the Marin Democratic Central Committee, the County Human Rights Commission and even the County Board of Supervisors, which approved a resolution presented by incoming supervisor Brady Bevis as her first act on the board.

Despite the current polls, opposition to the war came early and strong in Marin. An *IJ* poll conducted December 2 showed that 65 percent of Marin's respondents said that the troops should not be in the Gulf and that 77 percent were against a war to drive Iraq from Kuwait.

The overwhelming sentiments of the Marin population were revealed when Barbara Boxer held an open forum on December 16. Over 500 people crammed into Olney Hall at College of Marin to express their fear and their outrage over the build-up in the Gulf. A small percentage spoke in favor of the build-up including representatives from "Americans for Free Kuwait".

The majority of those present urged Boxer to take a stand against the war. "You give me the strength to do what I do," Boxer responded. "You're very powerful because you are courageous. This is what is worth fighting for [referring to the open forum as a symbol of democracy]. I'm going to be more of a leader than I thought I'd be before I walked in. We need to condemn other countries' invasions but we can't be the 911 of the world."

The World at War

Marin's activities were mirrored across the nation and around the globe. Yet those with their eyes toward the battlefield took no heed. On January 16, 1991, a dark cloud hung over the world as the U.S.-led forces in the Gulf began a merciless bombing of Iraq. Early promises of a quick, high-tech, bloodless victory were quickly refined as it became more and more evident that peace was not at hand, nor even in sight.

The polls dutifully soared, as Americans love to support a winning team. But in our own streets, the mood was dark, angry and despairing. Some joined the thousands in San Francisco, not just taking part in protests, but taking the streets and the bridges, too. In Marin people gathered for quiet mourning: holding candles, signs and each other. Two hundred gathered in Mill Valley, many from around the county to join those who had been standing together weekly for months now. People cried, expressed their rage, their fear and their hopes too. We found comfort and strength in each other.

From there the peace movement exploded. Marin joined two marches in San Francisco, January 19 and 26. Each time the numbers swelled. On January 26 hundreds lined up to take the Larkspur Ferry into the City, many being forced to carpool instead as the Ferry had not been prepared to provide service for so many. The Freedom Song Network brought their instruments and people sang all the way across the bay.

The mood in the city was a strange blend of anger and jubilation. The messages emblazoned on home-made signs were artistic, thoughtful, humorous, poignant. The polls had shown us to be an insignificant minority. The networks had been ignoring us, focusing in on random acts of violence. But we knew how strong we really were as we watched our numbers grow. We were the environmental movement, the labor movement, the gay movement, the animal rights movement, the peace centers, Afro-Americans, Latinos, Arabs, Jews, Orientals, mothers and fathers, children and teens, frightened and angry citizens. All united in a common goal, not just for peace in this war, but for an end to the use of war and the beginning of building a livable world.

As the war escalates, the atrocities on both sides continue. The massive oil slick in the gulf now only amplifies the dangers created by this unleashing of violence. The movement is calling for a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement but the mood in the country is one of hate and animosity. Our job has become more difficult but our numbers and our passion continue to grow. The various peace organizations are forming coalitions, combining resources and working toward one solid organized force for peace and sanity. Marin is only one tiny portion of a global movement. Over a million people have already marched worldwide, united in their desire for peace with each other and with the earth. When the world is ready to listen, we will be there. We are the phoenix that will fly forth from the ashes of war.

Directory of Gulf Crisis Resources

The Marin Center for Peace and Justice

The Committee for Peace in the Middle East
Draft Counseling
Calendar
Contact: Elizabeth Sapanai 459-5676

Marin Sane/Freeze

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
Gulf Support Group
contact: Dian Allen 459-1530

Beyond War - 479-5100
Americans for Peace - 459-1537

Marin Greens

Sanctuary Petition
Non-violence Training
Contact: 45-EARTH

20/20

Letter Writing
Contact: Elaine Gutstadt 453--0763

Students for Social Responsibility

Draft Counseling
Teach-Ins
Contact: Leah Creighton 925-0718

Parents for Peace

Contact: 235 Oakdale Ave.
Mill Valley, CA 94941

Gray Panthers

Contact: Frances Steadman 924-3832

Neighborhood Groups

Mill Valley - Zenya Spake 381-0985
Fairfax'- Friday Night Vigils 5-7
West Marin - Cheshire Mahoney 663-1632

Catholic Charities

24 Hour Hot line
499-1470

Family Service Agency

Free counseling service
456-3853

Military Counseling Hotline

1-800-86-NOWAR

Peacenet Middle East Crisis Desk

Bay Area Calendar
923-0700

Direct Action Information

843-8788

Coalition to Free the Media

1563 Solano Ave. #316
Berkeley CA 94707

Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)

130 W. 25th St.
New York, NY 10001

For up to date information on these and other groups that form daily call the Peace Center at 459-5676

For in-depth coverage tune in to KPFA 94.1 FM

The Conscientious Consumer

by Margot Phillips

I own a small, home-based craft business in Fairfax, and I do quite a few mailings to my customers each year. Last year, Earth Day made a big impact on me and, I realized that I simply could not ignore the fact that I use up thousands of pieces of paper every year.

Even though I recycle all waste paper and have for ages, I decided I really should be using recycled paper. I was in the process of preparing for a large mailing and I thought, this was the perfect time to switch over. I had an innocent idea, thinking it would take a phone call or two and I would have recycled paper (for cheap - Ho Ho Ho). It ended up taking about a week of calls, waiting for samples and other material. Most of the paper I liked was too expensive or was out of stock, or took two months to get.

When I latch onto something like this, I don't let go easily. I perservered even though it set my printing deadline back by a couple of weeks. But I did recieve quite an education in the process. . The first company I called was Seaboard, because I had seen their trucks around advertising that they had recycled paper. It turned out that they wholesale paper, usually in large amounts, but they did send samples and I spoke for quite awhile with their expert on recycled paper.

He explained to me that each paper type should list the percentage of paper that is actually recycled, but that doesn't necessarily mean that the recycled portion is post consumer waste paper, a euphamism for used paper. It could mean that they took the paper pulp that was left over from a previous batch, and slopped it into the barrel (or whatever) to use in the next batch. This was disappointing news. I had assumed that recycled paper meant recycled newspapers and paper bags. Mind you, it is saving trees to reuse the pulp, but to me that is just common sense to use as much as you can of a material with as little waste as possible. It's not really recycled fiber.

I continued my research and learned that there is paper on the market called minimum impact paper which is 100 percent recycled, a large percentage of which is post consumer waste, unbleached and is also inexpensive. There is only one problem with it, it's really kind of ugly. After lusting over beautiful peach bumpy stuff and classic laid finish in ten colors, I really couldn't see my spiffy mailing with purple ink printed on yucky, down home paper. It would have been the Greenest thing to do, but the designer in me just wouldn't let me. I ended up settling for a middle of the road paper called Sycamore, which is decent looking, inexpensive, 50 to 70 percent recycled fiber and acid free.

There is quite a lot to choose from. Here is a list of both wholesale and retail suppliers:

Conservatree is a huge company that sells only recycled paper, their minimum order is $100.00. The main office is at 10 Lombard St., Suite 250, San Francisco, 94111 Phone: 415-433-1000. These folks sell business to business only. Their public relations department told me that it is possible to go in and pick paper up directly from their warehouse in San Francisco if you have a small business.

Another wholesale company in the area is Seaboard, the very one with the enticing trucks that got me started on this project. They carry Conservatree paper as well as other brands, and they are not exclusively recycled. They are located at 336 oyster Point Blvd. So. San Francisco, 94080 - phone 415-588-3666.

For retail or small amounts of paper, there are several places. Earth Care Paper back east, is very well known for their cards and other recycled paper products as well as a large selection of printing papers. They can be reached at 608-256-5522. P.O. Box 3335, Madison, WI 53704.

One thing to keep in mind, however, is that paper is heavy, so if you need lots of it, it's going to cost a bit to ship out from the East Coast. Here are two local sources of retail recycled paper:

Eco Source, Phone:800-688-8345 , 9051 Mill Station Rd. Bldg. E, Sebastopol 95472 and Sage, 11 B Glen Rd. San Anselmo, 94960 Phone:415-485-5441.

Most of the hip copy places in town have recycled white paper now. Ask for it when you need to photocopy things. You can get recycled computer paper from quite a few sources, including all the retail sources I mentioned above. Use it! (the price has come down, so there's no more excuses.)

Your local printer can order recycled paper for you if they don't stock it, but do expect a delay in getting your order printed as some recycled papers are back ordered for weeks.

Even though it's not quite as Green as I thought to use recycled paper, it's still better than using virgin paper, and the more we ask for it, the more the paper mills will be inclined to provide it.

Sane Freeze Statement on U.S. Bombing of Iraq

by Monica Green, Acting Executive Director

WE ARE SAD AND OUTRAGED that it is necessary for us to gather here today. while it may be too soon to know the cost in lives - -American, Kuwaiti, Iraqi -- it is not too soon to declare that this war was a bad idea before it started and is an even worse idea now.

This war does not represent the new world order. This war is a demonstration of the old world order of using military force to resolve conflict. One of the costs of this war is the new world order -- a world which promotes humane, non-violent, civilized approaches to conflict resolution.

This war represents failure. Failure of diplomacy, failure of U.S. foreign policy, and failure of U.S. energy policies.

No one will win this war. this will be a war of loss. Loss of lives, loss of trust, loss of hope, and loss of precious resources which America desperately needs invested in our communities at home.

It should come as no surprise to us that a country which for over a decade has placed a higher priority on building weapons than on supporting its own people can succeed in wreaking devastation on Iraq and Kuwait. We have spent close to three trillion dollars on our military in the past decade.

We mourn this war because we know that we cannot build a new world order on the ruins of Baghdad, and because we know that we are sowing seeds of violence in a region which was already torn by hatred and conflict before this war began.

On behalf of our members, and all people of conscience, Sane Freeze demands that war cease. We call for a cease-fire, U.N. sponsored mediation, Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, and an international peace conference to unravel and address the deeply rooted causes of conflict in the Middle East.

As we gather here in the nation's capitol, thousands of Sane Freeze members gather in dozens of states around the country. They gather to mourn and to protest the injustice of this war. They will march, and sit in, and demonstrate the power of non-violent protest -- knowing that the path to peace must be peaceful itself.

We call on President Bush to reconsider his actions, and we call on Congress to reconsider its support for this inhumane war in which there can be no victory.

Prolonging this war will not bring peace. Our thoughts and prayers are with all those caught up in this horror -- the pilots dropping bombs over Baghdad, the men and women on the ground, their families here at home and civilians seeking shelter from war.

The war must end in negotiations sooner or later. Let it be sooner and let lives be saved.

When you join Marin Sane Freeze you add strength and voice to the San Freeze lobby in Washington, D.C. Sane Freeze lobbies weekly for the peace economy, a sound energy and environmental policy, an end to global nuclear production, non-intervention in foreign countries, and related issues. Within a week of the invasion of Kuwait, Sane Freeze was the first national peace organization to come out with its statement against military action in the Middle East.

San Freeze is the largest peace organization in the country; it is grassroots and national. Marin Sane Freeze is the largest peace organization in our county. Sane Freeze International is in New York City.

Marin Sane Freeze actively works in local, regional and national coalitions; Sane Freeze works to unify the peace movement globally. Marin Sane Freeze administers programs to accomplish the goals in our community as well as to act on local concerns. Marin Sane Freeze is a political and educational non-profit organization.

Join Marin Sane Freeze where Membership makes a difference:

$35-200 Individual membership
$15 Low income
___ per month Monthly sustainer
___Above $200 Major Donor

Send to: Marin Sane Freeze 72 Kensington Road San Anselmo 94960 415-459-1530

Photo Exhibit by Ilka Hartmann

Hopi Man

Women of the American Northwest

Omaha Mother

Chippewa Woman

ta Man

Summer Wind Songs

by Ross Laursen, Viking-Comanche

With our bellies
filled
with horse meat
and our spirits
like
new-born pups
we sang
to the summer wind
and sipped
slowly
from the sweet waters
of the cold springs
of our beautiful
Earth Mother
our medicine
was strong
and good
we knew
that our children
would chase rainbows
eat sacred pinion nuts
hunt the elk
and grow tall
our faith
was the faith
of elders
who have heard
the brown owl
speak at night
seen
caught crows
dance
on the bleached bones
of our enemies
and prayed
that the blanket hills
of our ancestors
would be
a warm lodge
to our people
always
yes, our bellies
were filled
with horse meat
and our spirits
were like
new-born pups
and we sang
to the summer wind
all the old
and sacred songs
taught
to us
by the
Great Spirit
since that dawn
long ago
when he cast
our seed
upon the earth
and gave us
a name
blessed
by the stars
forever

Moving The Pain On Down

State Government's Money Woes Coming Home to Roost

by Lew Tremaine

The axe is falling closer to home these days.

As a result of California's multibillion dollar budget deficit, county governments across the state are being hit with massive cuts in state funding. In Marin, the state funding cut will total $2.4 million this year and as much as $6 million next year. That would be a 10.5 percent cut, nearly all of which is in the area of health and human services, an area in which outgoing Governor George Deukmejian has placed little value.

In announcing the massive funding cuts, necessary to balance the budget in Sacramento, state lawmakers were not completely unfeeling. They offered county governments a number of "tools" that they could employ to make up the resultant shortfalls. These "tools" included the ability to impose taxes on phone and electric bills and to increase real estate transfer fees, without first gaining voters' permission. Also, counties were given permission to pass along costs for services to the towns and special districts within their borders. Counties may now, for instance, charge for the collection of taxes. They can also charge local police departments for booking suspects into jail.

In Marin, the board of supervisors has not yet fully decided which of these "tools" should be employed. To date, the board has begun charging local police departments "booking fees," which amount to about $85 per prisoner. And, they have decided to charge special districts for tax collection. The board is still considering the utility tax alternative, which would be charged to all who live in unincorporated areas, and they are taking a serious look at an increase in the real estate transfer fee. It should be noted that the imposition of all four fundraising options, would not forestall cuts in county services.

According to District 2 Supervisor Hal Brown, the board seems to prefer the real estate fee to the utility tax. A fee increase of one dollar per thousand dollars of assessed value is being anticipated on all property that transfers ownership, he said.

Brown told *Options* that the board's plan is to make cuts across the board, despite the fact that nearly all the state funding cuts are in the Health & Human Services area. "If we made all the cuts in human services, we would completely lose mental health services," he explained.

As it is, says Marin Mental health Association Director Dorothy Hughes, the cuts, across the board though they may be, are hurting the social services agencies. One agency, the Center for Alternative Living, which provides vocational training, socialization opportunities and rehabilitation services, is being phased out because of the cuts.

"We now have no daytime care for the county's mental health clients," she said. It has gotten to the point that you can't get help until you are in crisis. The justice system is now handling cases that should have been handled by social and mental health services two years earlier.

"It costs a whole lot more to deal with it on that level, so essentially we are spending money that we don't have, or that could be used to head off problems."

The "booking fee" now being assessed for every arrest not made by the sheriff's department has

been collected for the past two months. Brown says that the board is expected to assess its effect in another couple of months. The analysis will look at more than how it has affected revenues, he said. It will also include a look at what it has done to arrest patterns. Are local departments, for instance, more selective about the people they take to jail?

Given the state of city budgets around the county, that is a likely scenario. Already tight police budgets have not had to account for these fees in the past and many communities are having enough trouble keeping their streets paved. Local departments will likely find that money for jailing people will largely be generated by trimming from already tight police budgets. Simple economics will almost certainly dictate discretion.

According to Supervisor Brady Bevis, that may very well be the silver lining, though it will certainly inhibit the fees as a bail-out for county budget woes. She notes that reduced bookings will reduce pressure for the planned new jail, or at least for the contemplated size of it.

"The state is trying to move the pain down the line," she said of the recent wave of funding cuts.

The Last Penny

Supervisor Bevis suggests that half the one cent sales tax currently earmarked for transportation be used to address Marin's budget woes. The county's yet yet-to-be-assessed sales tax revenue source, "the last penny," as Bevis described it, might better be spent on something other than widening Highway 101.

The supervisor proposes that the tax be quartered - one quarter cent each for transportation, right of way acquisition, Health & Human services and open space acquisition. And, she believes such a ballot initiative would fare better than Measure A, the transportation sales tax which failed in November's election.

Bevis notes that a public opinion poll commissioned last spring by Marin Action showed that over 65 percent of Marinites would support a tax for social services and that a majority would support a tax for transportation improvements.

In discussing ways to solve the county's budget problem, Supervisor Hal Brown agreed that a tax measure is an option, however he says the proposal will not likely come as a board of supervisors initiative. In fact, he does not believe the voters would support a tax proposed by the board.

"People who are concerned about social services are the ones who will have to push for a tax measure. The board is not ready to put another tax on the ballot at this time," he said. "If it comes from the outside, that would be great. If people really care they have to go out and work for it.

A tax to support social services, he continued, "is something the voters might very well go for. The idea has merit but it has to come from the people."

According to Bevis, the "Penny Package" would likely have to be run as four separate initiatives, because the state constitution insists that ballot measures cover only one subject at a time. She agrees with Brown's assessment that the idea will best be received by the voters if its backing comes from the voters themselves, rather than the board.

"What we are seeing is the final phase of the effects of Proposition 13."

It may be that we are seeing the final phase of something quite a bit larger - like the federal deficit.

Six years ago, the federal government did exactly what the state has done this year. In 1984, the Reagan administration did away with Federal Revenue Sharing, a program that sent federal funding to counties and municipalities. The rationale behind the federal cuts was that states should take more responsibility. In reality, it was Reagan's way of passing the pain down the line. It was his only way to escape the blame for rising taxes, and responsibility for cuts in social services.

In California, Governor Deukmejian was also not willing to take the blame for higher taxes, so he ignored the need for increased revenue. Now the state is doing the same to the counties, which must simultaneously turn to (or on) the municipalities. The pain has reached the bottom and it is local officials who must face the heat for increased taxes. They've even been given the "tools" by which to do it. The question is, how much pain will the people at the bottom - the taxpayers themselves - be willing to endure, now that the pain has arrived.

In his inaugural address on January 7, Deukmejian's replacement, Pete Wilson, spoke of increasing funding for prevention of drug use and crime. That would indicate that he intends to find new money for social services. The new governor, didn't say where the money will come from, but it doesn't take a genius to figure out that new taxes will be the likely source.

The irony here is that the new state taxes will certainly come at a time when many counties around the state are voting on measures to counter Deukmejian's parting round of social service funding cuts. There is a strong likelihood that the new taxes will come after many counties have already passed their own taxes, leaving million's of Californians twice bitten.

A further irony is that the twice bitten counties will be better off. For it will take more money than Wilson can raise in one round of tax hikes (he would not dare try for more than one) to restore statewide health and human services to pre-Deukmejian levels. The counties that pass taxes on their own will be the only ones with enough resources to implement his new programs.

Election Analysis

Forests Forever Pushes On

Though Prop. 130 didn't win at the polls, Forests Forever managed to establish a solid network of forest activists in its very first year of existence. Forests Forever organizers from around the state met in January to define future forest and wildlife protection goals, and to develop strategies useful to grassroots activists and local groups. They intend to sponsor such planning sessions periodically, enabling committed people from around the state to share information and coordinate struggles. The momentum for restructuring forestry continues, and Forests Forever requests your continued help with lawsuits, contesting timber harvest plans, lobbying the Board of Forestry and the Legislature, witnessing for the trees, writing letters to the editor, and gearing up for an initiative in '92.

For more information, contact Ken Smith: 459-3765

Assemblyman Byron Sher introduced a bill on Dec 4th [AB 87] which would declare an 18-month moratorium on logging and road building in virgin redwood forests 10 acres or larger. It would stop the imminent destruction of Headwaters Forest, but do little for the biological integrity of our private forests. Environmentalists are encouraging Sher to amend his bill to include non-redwood forests and biological corridors, to allow for the migration and generic mixing necessary for the long-term survival of forest wildlife. For more information, contact: Cecelia Lanman: (707) 923-2931

Big Green's Silver Lining

The jubilation aroused by Big Green finally qualifying for the ballot last spring turned to profound disappointment on November 6. That day's *Independent Journal* greeted people with the headline, "California's Big Green Loses Big". While we knew victory was not assured, few among the progressive community envisioned the two-to-one trouncing to which we awoke the next morning. What went wrong?

The Wednesday morning politicians filled the airwaves and papers with their analyses. First, they said we underestimated the competition, yet Big Green garnered significantly more votes than Proposition 135, the industry decoy. Next, we were told that we hoped for too much, yet a poll conducted by California Public Interest Research Group (CalPIRG) in August and September 1989 showed 70 percent of voters supported "comprehensive" environmental legislation. Finally, we did not work hard enough, yet Big Green was backed by a coalition rivaled only by the opposition to Proposition 13.

Noticeably absent from the post-election analysis, however, was a discussion of what went right. Not only did the campaign produce the intangibles of a more environmentally aware electorate, stronger ties between and among progressive organizations, and an ever increasing number of volunteers, it clearly demonstrated the strength of grassroots political action. The success of the Get-Out-The-Vote campaign provides a specific example of the successes of Prop. 128. In the final days before the election, campaigns generally focus on the "sometimes voters". Demographers break eligible voters into three groups based on their voting patterns: always, sometimes, and never. As the voting patterns of the always and never voters are predetermined, a campaign will produce the greatest impact from its limited resources by ensuring the greatest number of sympathetic "sometimes voters" turnout.

In Marin alone, campaign organizers fielded nearly 150 volunteers during these critical final days. First the volunteers phoned the occasional voters in 30 sympathetic precincts - precincts that historically vote for environmental causes. This initial contact served two purposes: to educate the voters, and to obtain a commitment to vote on election day. Next, the campaign contacted the voters a second time a day or two before the election. The purpose here was simply to clear up any remaining questions and remind the voters of the importance of their vote in the election. Finally, on election day itself, volunteers went to the polls and checked the voting records to ensure that everyone who committed to voting did turn out.

In the initial days of calling, we reached approximately 10 percent of the registered voters in the targeted precincts. In addition to providing information about the environmental initiatives, we often discussed some of the other confusing measures confronting voters last November. Along with providing voters with badly needed information, this opened up a dialogue that led to increased involvement among many members of the community. As a result of the election day follow-up, we were able to turn out 90 percent of those who committed to voting.

Simple multiplication shows the Marin's grassroots effort added nine points to the Big Green Yes vote - quite an accomplishment for a relatively small number of activists. On the surface, Big Green may look like a bubble burst by voter apathy and economic downturn. As one peers past the surface, the groundwork for future victories can be seen. With strengthened ties among the progressive community and the proven success of grassroots democracy, we will build upon the progress of Big Green . . . and we will succeed.

Two New Marin NFZs

1990 saw the birth of two new Nuclear Free Zones in California. The public utilities districts of Bolinas and Inverness enacted NFZ laws within a month of each other. Both NFZs were the brain children of Steve Bloom, Coordinator of Nuclear Free California.

Late last year Bloom asked Marin NFZ Coalition member Dave Brast, "Don't you have a couple of public utility districts in West Marin that voted heavily in favor of the Marin NFZ?" When Brast broached the idea of an NFZ to Inverness Public Utility District Director Barbara Dewey, she took the ball and ran with it. After a long and difficult political process and an acrimonious electoral campaign, on November 6 the people of Inverness passed the Inverness Public Utility District Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance by a vote of 230 to 212.

During the last three months of the campaign, Brast single-handedly carried out a voter registration/education/telephone-poll/Get-Out-The-Vote effort that reached 474 of the district's 586 registered voters. Early tabulations of his poll showed the NFZ winning by a sizable margin, but when the election results were in, this had been whittled down to 18 votes through a campaign of deceit and intimidation by the ordinance's opponents. The intimidation went as far as a threat to quit by the district's general manager.

In June, while the Inverness NFZ was going through its difficult gestation, Brast happened to mention the idea of a Bolinas NFZ to long-time Bolinas peace activist Robert Dun. When Brast said he and Bloom were looking for a local person to spearhead the effort, Dun offered to take on the job.

Dun wrote an ordinance for Bolinas based almost verbatim on the previously written Inverness ballot measure. The key provisions of both ordinances were selective purchasing and divestment.

Dun worked carefully and thoroughly to smooth the way for the ordinance with the district's five directors and its general manager, and his work paid off. On October 10 the directors passed the Bolinas Community Public Utilities District Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance by a unanimous vote.

The voters of Inverness and Bolinas had both given overwhelming support to two county NFZ ordinances, one in 1986, and again in 1990. Even so, the evolution of the NFZ in Inverness was in stark contrast to that in Bolinas.

In the case of Inverness, the NFZ idea was introduced to a district whose board, even prior to the local NFZ issue, was split over personality conflicts and management philosophy, and whose staff and two members of the board were already opposed to the NFZ movement. In the case of Bolinas, the opposite was true, and the relative ease with which the Bolinas ordinance passed reflected this.

County Works Toward New Transportation Tax

When the public voted down the transportation tax in November, county officials, grassroots groups, and major environmental organizations all began scrambling to take the lead. Brady Bevis led those elected officials who had opposed the

tax and demanded majority representation on the countywide agencies concerned with planning and transportation. They were rebuffed.

The Marin Transportation Authority went dormant and the 101 Corridor Committee was reactivated. Business and environmental representatives were added to that body, and they set out to propose a more modest quarter-cent sales tax to fund the purchase of the railroad right-of-way and conduct an environmental assessment. Most are not optimistic that a tax could appear on the November ballot, but they do feel that implementing a transportation plan piece by piece would be more acceptable to a public fearful of recession.

The Countywide Planning Agency (CPA), once the Countywide Plan Advisory Committee, continued its task of reviewing the revision of the countywide plan and acting as the implementation agency of transportation measures that would qualify the county for statewide funding. Despite protests from environmental groups that a general concept must be achieved before specifics could be discussed, the CPA insisted on reviewing specific recommendations for St. Vincent's/Silviera properties in the hopes of diffusing arguments that transportation improvements would fuel growth.

Marin Conservation League, in the meantime, is conducting its own process of creating a planning alternative that would focus future growth in existing developed areas and maintain undeveloped land in open space and agriculture. A working group of the MCL land use, water and transportation committees was formed with MCL president Jean Berensmeir as its chair. The original proposal from the land use committee had recommended representatives from other environmental organizations and housing groups be included, but MCL's executive board chose to limit the committee to MCL members only.

Meanwhile, MCL board member Bill Noble, who also serves on the aforementioned working group, has been conducting meetings between MCL members and housing advocates such as Ecumenical Association for Housing and Novato Ecumenical Association for Housing. The meetings found some common ground, and participants are searching for criteria by which MCL could support housing projects.

FARMING on the EDGE:
Saving Family Farms
in Marin County, California

What reviewers are saying about Farming on the Edge:

American Farmland Trust:
"Farming on the Edge provides an unusual glimpse into a community that has succeeded in preserving its agricultural heritage."
Ralph Grossi, President

Greenbelt Alliance:
"Congratulations--a great book! Marin County has made a wonderful start in making the Bay Area greenbelt a reality."
Larry Orman, Executive Director

Smith & Hawken:
"Farming on the Edge contains a story that needs repeating throughout our land...it is our responsibility to sustain life on our farms, supporting our farmers and a way of life that has always been the foundation and basis of our culture."
Paul Hawken, President

This space sponsored by Marin Agricultural Land Trust (MALT), a non-profit preserving agricultural lands in Marin through purchase of development rights. For information contact MALT, P.O. Box 809, Pt. Reyes, CA 94956; 663-1158.

ORDER FORM

FARMING ON THE EDGE: Saving Family Farms in Marin County, California, by John Hart. 1991. 180 pp. 90 photos. Available from Farming on the Edge, 212 Del Casa, Mill Valley, CA 94941. $29.95 hardcover, $16.95 softcover.

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Local Youth Conservationists Take Ecological Knowledge Far Afield

Don Neuwirth

by Amity Hotchkiss

"The Italians have a saying, 'you can only give your kids roots and wings, and hope they fly right,'" says Don Neuwirth of his relationship with the scores of young people who graduate from the Marin Convation Corps' job-training program every year.

The executive director and his staff will spend just eight months on average with these 18 to 26 year olds, teaching them tool skills for conservation projects and a basic understanding of ecology, akin to passing on a set of "wings" to help them fly. But during that time many will also develop deeper "roots" - self-discipline, responsibility and trust in one another to help them become strong, competent individuals. Some will advance the movement toward global environmental action.

In the cross-cultural spirit of glasnost, recently the MCC participated in a conservation exchange program with the U.S.S.R., set up by the California Conservation Corps. For one month, five Marin members and 24 other fellow U.S. Corps members went to Moscow or Leningrad to work with groups of Soviet students. In turn, two Soviets came to Marin to join the MCC work crews. It was the first such exchange program between the two countries.

"Everyone was enthusiastic about the first international exchange where we could take some of our conservation concepts to a country like the Soviet Union," Neuwirth says.

The Marin participants found their Soviet counterparts lagging in general awareness of environmental realities and approaches for improvement. "I met many people who were interested in ecology, but had limited access to information about the delicate balance of things," says Jeff Lumb, 21, who graduated from MCC in January.

"The students we worked with had a strong desire to improve the environment. But their methods on how to do that didn't mesh with ours because a lot of basic knowledge and technology doesn't exist," adds Dana Litwin, a 21-year-old education specialist at the Corps.

Both lived near Leningrad and helped a group of Soviet students on outdoor improvements at a youth summer camp outside the city. To their chagrin, raw materials were scarce and power tools such as chain saws, used frequently in Marin projects, were unavailable. Even basic necessities such as wheelbarrows were not provided, making the work slow and arduous.

Improving a pond filled with rust and covered with an oil slick proved a challenging project. The environmental group's job was to transform it into a child's swim area bordered by a beach and wooden benches. "In making the beach we were laying coal slag under the sand instead of gravel, and I asked them why, since coal is toxic and the kids would be playing in it," Lumb said. "The reasons they gave me were that they didn't have any gravel and the toxicity would prevent plants from growing on their beach. I could understand they couldn't get the gravel, but the other reason made no sense ecologically. "

Litwin compares the degree of environmental knowledge among young Soviets today to that of Americans in the early 1960s. "The youth have ambition and ideas on how things could change, and that's starting to ripple upwards, but the attitude, 'If you can't see it, it can't hurt you' is still there. There isn't a lot of concern for public health, even in the students' minds."

Lumb believes one of the things that may hamper the Soviets' environmental progress is their unambitious approach to work. "I saw little desire to work in the outdoors to improve things," he says. "At a soda bottling factory, I observed that people had no feeling of pride in the quality of their work. We did many projects where people just stood around and watched when they could have pitched in."

But the students remain optimistic about prospects for environmental preservation in the U.S.S.R. "In a way, they're learning about conservation in time, because they haven't ruined all their natural resources," said Litwin. "They've still got 90 percent of their forests. If we save the remaining 5 percent of our redwood forests, we're lucky."

Besides Russian phrases and a balalaika, a rustic string instrument, Litwin also returned with a new attitude. "I came back with different goals for my personal life and education. Direct exposure to another culture makes me want to come back here and learn Russian, and later maybe go to music school in Leningrad.

"I couldn't put a money value on the trip because it really changed my life. But I've tried to give what I learned back to the Corps by sharing my experience with everyone here," she says.

Undoubtedly, the two Soviet students hosted by the Corps went home with their own stories, perhaps with commentary on the American work ethic. They aided the MCC in its massive trail restoration project at San Rafael's China Camp last summer.

While the U.S.- Soviet experiment may not be repeated soon, Neuwirth says he and the Corps members will continue to participate in environmental endeavors abroad. Recently, he went to a conference in Honduras to share the youth corps concept. This could help strengthen the network of youth corps springing up on many continents.

Sharing solutions to the same environmental problems reminds us that ecological preservation is a worldwide undertaking which begins at home. "Think globally, act locally is more than relevant to a Corps that has threatened open spaces in its own backyard ," says Neuwirth.

An activist and member of the Peace Corps in the 1960s, the MCC administrator believes attitudes on the environment are beginning to come full circle. "The environmental question is becoming important for all of us because we've discovered it's one world. It's heartening to see the changes in attitudes," he says.

By limiting the time young people can spend working for MCC, the Corps builds the skills and knowledge of a great many Marin citizens. After working Monday through Thursday, people come in Friday for non-paid classes in hand and power tool use and conservation techniques.

Classes can be a challenge, as participants represent a cross-section of the community - "20 percent college students, 20 percent ex-jail inmates, and all those in between," says Neuwirth. To accommodate growing numbers of Latinos, MCC runs English as a Second Language (ESL) classes and even has a computer lab so members can practice on their own.

But for the inexperienced, most of the learning comes on the job. Each season California weather brings a new challenge. In spring when rains come, brush cutting in streams helps prevent erosion and flooding. In the dryness of summer, the crews prevent fire by cutting fire breaks around public buildings. In between, projects range from trail restoration and rustic construction to exotic species removal.

This winter, one seven-person crew spent eight weeks building a handicap ramp, buttressed by a concrete wall, outside the old chapel in the Marin Headlands, now the park's Visitors' Center. Wearing wool caps under their MCC hardhats to stave off the morning cold, the crew worked while exchanging a few laughs now and then. "The guys are taking a lot of responsibility doing this, because most of them don't have a construction background," said supervisor Maurice Turner. "It's a complicated job, kind of like a puzzle. If we don't get all the pieces to fit, it could be a disaster. But I've been impressed with them."

Jerome Carney, digging into the ground with a pickax, said he enjoyed this job more than his previous assignment. "Before this, we were cutting trees so they wouldn't fall on power lines. I wanted to get on this crew so I could help build this ramp."

Workers can stay with the MCC for up to a year, unless they apply for a teaching or supervisor post. Making $6 an hour, most workers are content to move on to construction or landscaping posts. Others go on to pursue environmental careers

Carney knows the ramp job could lead to other opportunities. "Sometimes the GGNRA hires us for a project and then looks to hire us as employees," he says. "It would be a good job in a nice place." After a traveling stint, Lumb plans to continue his conservation work in other organizations. And Litwin may someday find herself debating environmental issues with Leningrad conservatory students.

Besides the young individuals, the MCC's biggest benefactor is nature itself. As Carney puts it: "I've learned how we help nature take care of its beauty."

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The Volunteer Center of Marin is a private, nonprofit agency offering a variety of services to the Marin community. It annually recruits and refers 1800 individuals to volunteer opportunities; coordinates a volunteer transportation program for elderly and disabled residents; maintains a branch office in Point Reyes Station; publishes a directory of community resources; and each year provides volunteer referrals, training, consultation and fund-raising assistance to 419 nonprofit agencies.

Homeless Activist Pat Dale

by Nancy Kivette

Through the picture window in her neat-as-a-pin living room, Pat Dale can see the well-used hummingbird feeders and bird houses in the front yard. Her motto is "a home for everyone." Like the living room, her kitchen is also warmly lit, but in here the sunlight glints through stacks of shining emerald-green glassware, plates, goblets, pitchers and bowls. Depression-era glass she calls it.

In those days, when she was a young girl, you could buy a box of cereal and in it would be a small plate or saucer, or for a dime you could buy larger pieces, like the cups. And in those days, she says, homeless people were recognized simply as hobos. Pat knew them as ordinary folks who occasionally sat down to dinner with her family, then gave thanks for the meal by doing some yard work or an odd job or two before moving on. "During the depression there were homeless people, but there wasn't the stigma of being homeless like there is today," she says.

"It makes me angry, but also so terribly sad."

Pat's sure stride and smooth brown eyes make it easy to forget that she's 80 years old. So does her steady alto voice. With her hands folded on the dining table, she talks excitedly about her ongoing project of housing Marin's homeless. Sometimes she pours out a robust, well-aged laugh.

She is right in the middle of outlining her plans for the "Big Picture," not just sheltering the homeless, but forever solving the problem of homelessness in Marin, when the phone rings. It's one of her homeless friends calling with bad news: three homeless men were found dead in the past week. One man, discovered under a bridge in San Rafael, died of pneumonia, the second man, Pat's friend believes also died of pneumonia, but the third, in protest of being homeless, set himself on fire and burned to death.

Pat's friend asks her for office supplies so that he and his colleagues at St. Vincent de Paul can write letters to supervisors in protest of closing

the armory, one of a handful of overnight shelters in the county. Her friend and his colleagues also publish Creative Action, a newsletter about the personal and political issues surrounding homelessness, that Pat helped initiate. Though she is now retired and quietly struggling with cancer, Pat is quick to reassure her friend that the needed supplies will somehow turn up, she is sure.

According to Pat, Marin County is turning its back on 3,000 homeless families. This statistic comes from HomeBase, a homeless support group, that compiled a report on how many homeless men, women and children roamed the nine Bay Area counties in 1990.

"They're people just like you and me, who for one reason or another, couldn't make their rent," says Pat, co-founder and former president of Marin Concerned Citizens (MCC), a coalition of citizens concerned enough to house the homeless, not temporarily but for good. The condition for people one step from homelessness, Pat says, is living on a financial edge, earning just enough to make subsistence ends meet. "Maybe they get sick and insurance doesn't cover it, or their car breaks down, or maybe they couldn't cover their rent and they got evicted, and how do they ever get first, last and a deposit?" Pat points out that the majority of people who become homeless have no family or support group to turn to in a financial emergency. When such a person is slugged with bills that he cannot pay, he may find himself suddenly severed from all familiar comforts and wandering alone in a wasteland of homelessness. "If one of my children fell into dire straits, they have me and other family members they can turn to. They have a support group."

But Pat wasn't always empathetic to homeless people. She says, "I was like all the other people in Marin. I didn't know about the homeless." However, three years ago when she was volunteering at the Peace Center and Beyond War, two Marin organizations proposing peaceful solutions to global problems, she heard our supervisors arguing for three weeks about how to open the armory to shelter the homeless. At that time, Pat says she could not find one church in 40 that would offer a room to the homeless during the day.

Meanwhile, according to Pat, the politicians were bickering over such details as how low the outside air temperature should drop before the homeless could enter the armory, and what time in the morning they should be evicted. "I got so angry, I thought why can't they let the homeless in while they continue to argue," she exclaims, thumping her fist on the table. "The armory was being held up. That's the reason why MCC started."

MCC's co-founders, Sally Dennett and Pat, soon developed Adopt-a-Family, a sponsorship program that combines donations and volunteer services to boost those homeless people without a history of addiction or mental illness, back into homes, jobs and communities. Though Pat is now retired from the organization, she is actively stirring an extended version of Adopt-a-Family into the hands of Marin churches and schools.

"I'd like to see everyone working with Adopt-a-Family, not just MCC. If we had all the schools and churches involved, we'd have most of the (housing) problem licked," says Dale. Though the program is effective, providing transportation, counseling, job assistance, childcare, and, of course, housing, Pat admits, "it's another band-aid operation, a drop in the bucket."

With 16 percent more homeless people in Marin last year than the year before, Pat says "It's not enough to just get (housing) to six or seven families," so she has a permanent "Big Picture" solution in mind. She calls it Crossover. It's composed of three steps.

Step 1: a single 24-hour shelter offering concentrated counseling, medical and job-search services. Establishing one shelter is cheaper than building, operating and coordinating several. Dale estimates the cost to be less than $2 million. Another reason for one shelter is simply that win-

ning one county's approval is easier than clawing for the approval of several.

Step 2: Transitional housing or "satellite houses" such as renovated train cars, out-of-commission ships (Pat suggests the moth ball fleet docked outside of Concord) or even a mobile home park, and augmented by the Extended Adopt-a-Family program driven by churches and schools, and private families willing to share their homes. At this stage clients or guests would still be subsidized by government aid, but also working at a steady job, attending counseling services, and rebuilding the self-esteem necessary to successfully re-enter society.

Step 3: Independent living made possible with a variety of low- income or affordable housing, such as single-room hotels, mobile homes, affordable apartments built on top of existing one-story buildings.

"This is such a sensible answer. It finds a solution to the problem. Getting people to pay taxes and contribute and be part of the community is so sensible," and with this kind of plan, Pat says, "Eventually we won't need the (24-hour) center so it can be turned into a senior center or offices."

In the past three years, Pat has seen many people move off the streets and into homes of their own. She's convinced homelessness can be cured, not only helping those without homes, but benefitting everyone in society. This was the case with a woman who recently came to MCC. It was a few weeks before Christmas, she had her young son with her, she was pregnant, and she was about to be evicted. But Pat's network of concerned citizens discovered a solution.

MCC offered financial support while one of Pat's friends, a woman who at one time had been without a home, offered a room in her house for one month to the pregnant woman. A couple presented her with a gift of fresh fixings for a homemade Christmas dinner along with a roasting pan for the turkey, candles for the table, Sees candy just for the fun of it and money orders to food stores.

Instead of celebrating their anniversary, they did this," says Pat of the couple. "I could see the fun they had. They were so thrilled they wanted me to come into their kitchen to show me what they got." And yet another woman sent a check and canned foods to the young mother who is now working and saving for a place to live. "This is a success story," says Pat. "The woman who gave food and money to her, she's now interested in her, she's her support, like a big sister."

Pat has played the role of big sister to many during the course of her life. She says "All my life I've struggled against injustice." She has always felt compelled to help, "but not anything that took me over like this (homelessness).

After moving from Minnesota to San Francisco 20 years ago, she began helping out in the low-income Fillmore district by tutoring students. She raised her three, now grown children alone by establishing her own real estate insurance company. Later, when Pat initiated her own accounting firm, she carted her accounting skills into the Fillmore and set up volunteer shop there. Pat modestly excuses herself from any talk about her past efforts and accomplishments insisting that her current project. Crossover, is what really matters. But other people both notice and appreciate her work and in March of this year, Pat Dale will be among 25 volunteers chosen because of her achievements from over 400 Bay Area organizations to be honored at the Points of Light Celebration in Burlingame.

Pat isn't finished yet, though. "It's really difficult to say after working 24 hours for 20 years, 'that's it, I retire, I'm not interested anymore.'" So she continues her work on Crossover at the same time keeping a watchful eye on her homeless friends.

For information on the Adopt-a-Family program, call Marin Concerned Citizens 457-4377. To help organize the "big picture" Crossover plan, and spread the Extended Adopt-a-Family program to schools and churches, call Pat Dale 456-3569.

Drug War Propaganda

By Johan Carlisle

When President Bush held up a bag of crack during a prime time television speech announcing his war on drugs in the fall of 1989, the fundamentally deceptive nature of the Bush Administration's propaganda drug war was revealed for all to see. "This bag of crack cocaine was sold right across the street from the White House," Bush solemnly announced to tens of millions of concerned Americans. The implication, of course, was that the "drug thing" had gotten so out of hand that dope dealers were brazenly peddling their deadly wares on the steps of the White House.

Lafayette Park, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, has never attracted drug dealers of any kind - the young crack dealer had been lured to Lafayette Park, with great difficulty, by the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration). In spite of the fact that the DEA agent's hidden microphone didn't work and the concealed video operator got mugged, the bust came down and Bush had his prop. When Bush was questioned about these details a few days later by the press, he got angry and asked whether the press was siding with "this drug guy." He then changed the subject and nobody even attempted to question him about the constitutional violations involved in such an arrest or about the underlying deception of staging a bust for the purpose of his speech.

Publicity about this entrapment forced the government to drop the charges against Keith Jackson, the young African American drug dealer. But a year later, Jackson, with no prior convictions, was convicted on older drug dealing charges and received a mandatory 10-year sentence since one of his sales was near a school.

This type of blatant propaganda reveals the tip of the iceberg in the current round of drug enforcement propaganda operations. A deeper look uncovers a vast array of propaganda techniques and devices being used to convince Americans that the "drug thing" is the country's number one problem - a problem that requires extraordinary and even unconstitutional measures to solve.

An illusion of emergency is one of the most dangerous components of the drug war. Years of drug-related propaganda during the Reagan administration, but more importantly the media-assisted campaign about the crack epidemic in the summer of '89, provided the build up to President Bush's speech unveiling his new war on drugs program in September of that year. Following Bush's speech, public opinion showed overwhelming support for the use of unconstitutional law enforcement and military techniques to solve the drug problem. According to an ABC

News/Washington Post poll, over 60 percent of Americans were willing to give up their constitutional rights regarding illegal search and seizure in their homes and automobiles. (The Washington Post National Weekly Edition, 9/18/90. When 764 adults were asked, "Would you be willing to give up a few of the freedoms we have in this country if it meant we could greatly reduce the amount of illegal drug use?" 62 percent said yes.)

The War Metaphor

One of the more effective propaganda techniques in the war on drugs which taps deeply into the American psyche is the use of wartime symbols and emergencies to justify extraordinary measures and sacrifices. After World War II, the U.S. used the Cold War as a rationale for a huge military build-up. The Cold War and the inevitable Third World liberation movements led to a war on terrorism which served handily throughout the '70s and '80s as an adjunct to the bigger Cold War.

Encroachments on civil liberties at home as well as foreign military ventures were justified by the terrorist scare - searches at airports, increased intelligence operations, wiretapping, phone monitoring by the National Security Agency, the bombing of Libya, and domestic spying on dissident political groups, to name just a few. Now that the Cold War has been pronounced dead and the war on terrorism seems to be under control, the war on drugs is being used to mobilize patriotic Americans against a new symbolic enemy.

Within a few days after the Berlin Wall was declared obsolete, for example, the Pentagon announced that it was finally ready to engage the enemy head on, in the war on drugs. This after years of reluctance by Secretaries of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to get involved in something as complex as using soldiers and sailors to try to interdict the flow of illegal drugs past the thousands of miles of American shorelines and borders.

In Northern California during the summer of 1990, the U.S. Army staged high profile marijuana eradication operations on public land using helicopters and active-duty troops from the invasion of Panama. This multi-agency deployment, dubbed Operation Green Sweep, was the first time that active-duty troops had been used domestically to carry out search and seizure operations.

Doug Bosco, the representative from the area at the time, said that pressure from south of the border had more to do with Operation Green Sweep than local concern about the safety of public lands: "When President Bush was at the Latin American drug summit [in 1989], Colombia's then-President Virgilio Barco said to him, 'You're asking us to clean up. What about the marijuana that's grown on the north coast of California?'" Bosco also said that, "most members [of Congress], including myself, thought that this would be a border situation, not Northern California."

Marine commandant Alfred Gray told Congress in 1989 that, "some of the [constitutional] 'rights' may have to be modified if we're really serious" about the drug war. . . . There's nothing magic or secret about winning the [drug] war - the hearts and minds of people and all of that. It's harder to do in a democratic environment, I can tell you that, but it can be done. And we know how to do it." The war metaphor is also being used to condition Americans for U.S. military intervention in Latin America. The drug bill passed by Congress last November included several hundred million dollars for the Colombian military which Amnesty International links with right wing death squads and hundreds of deaths annually in Colombia.

Panama

The Panamanian invasion was a logical culmination of a public relations campaign for military intervention related to drugs. While the invasion was under

way, whenever President Bush appeared on TV to answer questions, he invariably ended his remarks justifying the invasion with a declaration that Noriega "is a drug criminal." The fact that the invasion, rationalized as a police effort to arrest one alleged drug criminal, will probably turn out to cost the U.S. taxpayers nearly as much as the entire federal budget for drug control has not been widely discussed in the media or the government.

The rock music blasting away at the Papal nunciature in Panama City was an obvious clue that the U.S. was carrying out classical psychological warfare against Manuel Noriega. The demonization of Noriega in the American media is part of a time-honored strategy designed to rally support for the military intervention in Panama. Most countries, in time of war, portray their "enemies" as inhuman, despicable devils. The American public overwhelmingly and uncritically supported this invasion which was denounced by the U.N. and the Organization of American States as illegal.

Noriega had been the subject of this demonization for over a year preceding the invasion. He was the latest 'enemy' in a long line during the '80s - the Ayatollah, Kadhafy, Arafat, etc. The stories about Noriega's "sordid lifestyle" which the U.S. government fed to the media, and which the media uncritically passed on to the public, were complete with allegations of voodoo, red underwear, pornography, huge stashes of cocaine, and even a photo of Hitler. Not surprisingly, there never was any material corroboration of these charges. In fact, they are all suspect in light of the revelation that the cocaine stash turned out to be a freezer full of tamales.

David Kertzer, a professor of anthropology at Bowdoin College who specializes in the use of ritual in politics, said governments in war always try to personalize the hated enemy.

"People have an easier time dealing with people than with policies and governments. So we make the enemy a person and identify that person with the devil. The more we identify the enemy as the devil the more we become the saviour," Kertzer said. "Whether Noriega is a good family man or not or whether he has a mistress or not is not very relevant to the invasion by U.S. forces. But somehow it becomes one confused jumble and somehow part of the forces of evil fighting against the forces of good."

Civil Liberties

The real tragedy of the current version of the war on drugs has been the erosion of civil liberties in the U.S. along with a huge increase of covert intelligence activities. As an example, the Supreme Court has ruled that it is legal for law enforcement officers to use a "drug profile" to detain people at airports who "look or act" like drug dealers. Assets forfeiture is now a common practice around the country; your property can now be seized by the government even if you're not charged with breaking the law, if, in their opinion, you are a drug dealer or smuggler.

Some of the most extreme incursions on civil liberties have been instituted in Texas. During the '80s, a massive legislative campaign carried out by H. Ross Perot, the governor of Texas, and hundreds of citizens groups succeeded in passing "no-knock" laws, illegal search provisions, stiff new penalties for even minor possession of pot or cocaine, and other chilling legislation which has made Texas a leader in the war on drugs. Now Congress has passed laws which mandate the death penalty for drug smugglers who aren't actually involved in violent crimes. The rationale is that they surely must know that the potential for violence and death exists as a result of their importation of recreational drugs. What about the liquor importers, or the automobile manufacturers? How far will the erosion of civil liberties go in this war on drugs?

A recent covert action, called Operation Green Merchant, involved a series of DEA raids on marijuana "grow light" stores in 42 states. The DEA agents seized mailing lists and business records from the high-tech garden supply stores. In numerous cases, the entire inventories were seized and corporate bank assets were frozen. The DEA then used the mailing lists and shipping logs, subpoenaed from UPS, to stage a massive search and seizure operation against the customers of the 65 stores. The DEA arrested 191 people in raids on October 26 and 27, 1989.

Tom Alexander, publisher of Sinsemilla Tips, one of the two magazines which advertise the garden supply stores, said comments made by a DEA agent indicated that Operation Green Merchant was really a scheme to go after the marijuana-partial press. In fact, the seizure of the entire contents of Alexander's garden supply store and the almost-complete loss of advertising for Sinsemilla Tips forced him to close his store and stop publication of his 10-year old magazine.

High Times is also under attack by the Justice Department. A Grand Jury in New Orleans is investigating High Times and its writers. This attack on free speech is reminiscent of FBI operations during the anti-Vietnam war years against the underground press. For example, DEA agent Charles Stowell said on KCBS radio in San Francisco that the marijuana press is "hiding behind the First Amendment" and compared Alexander to a child pornographer.

The Media

The media has cooperated with President Bush by providing extensive, uncritical coverage of official speeches, news leaks, sensationalized drug busts, and TV specials about the drug wars.

Most newspapers and magazines have joined the TV networks with exclusive front page coverage on the threat of drugs. While the press has often focused on the human dilemmas of drug abuse, there has been a constant distortion and neglect of the broader issues involved. How many column inches or minutes of TV, for example, have dealt intelligently with the movement to legalize drugs as a rational solution to the violence, corruption and crime involved? (When former Secretary of State George Schulz came out publicly for legalization, the White House reportedly said that he "has been out West too long.") When was the last time there has been a single TV special on the corruption of the DEA or the role of CIA and the White House in drug trafficking? And why do the media constantly portray drug dealing as a squalid, dangerous tableau on the streets of America's inner cities while, in reality, much drug dealing takes place safely, except for the threat of the police, in people's homes?

There were roughly a thousand times more people killed last year in the U.S. by alcohol and tobacco than by cocaine, crack, and marijuana. Yet most Americans consider illicit drugs one of the top problems in the nation. Clearly, the drug war propaganda campaign is working and it would not work without the media's cooperation. The government's drug war deflects attention from other social problems: AIDS, homelessness, the budget deficit, nuclear power and weapons... the list is very long indeed. President Bush is off to a great start, following his skilled predecessor, in what appears to be a new frontier in manipulation, disinformation, and control of our country's political agenda.

Johan Carlisle an editor of Investigative News Features and a free-lance writer. A version of this article appeared in Propaganda Review *magazine.*

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ART

Edward S. Curtis Gallery
247 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo (Bank St.& SFD)
454-4481
Tues-Sat 10-5; Sun Noon-5
Original collection of Edward S. Curtis and representing over 35 different artists

CRAFTS

Ida Grae, Handweaving & Textile Design
424 La Verne Ave., Mill Valley
388-6101 by appointment
Study handweaving as a hobby or profession in the best equipment studio in Northern California. Floor looms. Apprenticeship available

MUSIC

Amazing Grace Music
111 Red Hill Ave. San Anselmo
456-0414
10:30 -6:30 M-F, Sat. till 5:30
Acoustic guitar & accessories; mandolins and banjos; expert repairs

Ali Akbar College of Music
215 West End Ave., San Rafael
Off Miracle Mile near Shell station
454-6264/office; 454-0581/store
Office M-F 10-5; classes M-W 4-10;
Store M-F 12:30-5:30
Evening classes in North Indian classical music; CDs, cassettes, and instruments: tamboura, harmonium, tabla, mridangan. Visitors welcome

ENTERTAINMENT

19 Broadway Nightclub
19 Broadway, Fairfax
459-1091
11am - 2am
Live music nightly showcasing local bands

RESTAURANTS

Two Bird Cafe
6921 Sir Francis Drake, Forest Knolls
in the San Geronimo Valley towards Pt. Reyes
488-9952
T-F 7-3; Wkends 8-3; Dinners
Th-Sun 5:30-9:30
Stop by on your way to the beach for family dining. Enjoy our outdoor Patio. This Place Cooks!

CAFES

Cafe Espresso
85 Bolinas Road #4, Fairfax
In Fairfax square behind the Women's Fitness Center
485-5535
M-F 7am-6pm, Wkends 8am-6pm
Espresso beverages, fresh pastries, fruit juices & smoothies, light breakfast & lunch

Patricks Bookshop Cafe
9 Bolinas Rd., Fairfax
454-2428
M-F 6:30-Midnight;
Wkends, holidays 8:30-Midnight
Fine coffee, pastries, light food, used books, chess, bridge, backgammon, etc. Poetry readings Thursday nights.

Caffe Nuvo
556 San Anselmo Ave. San Anselmo
454-4530
M-Th 7am-11pm; Fri 7am-midnight;
Sat 8am-midnight; Sun 8am-11pm
Live music Weds-Sun. Sunday Brunch on the deck. Sandwiches, sumptuous soups, sweets, fine espresso drinks

VIDEO

Video West & Pizza Too
6825 Sir Francis Drake Blvd., Forest Knolls
488-4888
M-Th. Noon-9; Fri. Noon-10;
Sat 11-10; Sun 11-9
Have a video party with fresh take & bake pizza with your favorite movie.
Double Rainbow ice cream.

TRAVEL

Redwood Travel
1344 4th St., San Rafael
454-4932
M-F 8:30-5:30; Sat 10-3
Professional travel services
Leisure and Corporate Travel

BED AND BREAKFAST

Rosemary Cottage
Inverness
663-9338
Enjoy romantic seclusion near the Point Reyes National Seashore. Families welcome.

BUSINESS SERVICES

Wendi Kallins
11 Bolinas Road, Fairfax
485-5329
Quality, professional bookkeeping services including payroll, cash flow management, job costing, payables and receivables.

Postal Services Plus
524 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo
Across from town hall on the foot bridge
459-2567/FAX 456-9197
M-F 9-5:30 Sat 10-4
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518D Tamalpais Dr. Corte Madera 924-0809
In the Park Madera Center, behind the Shell Station
1683 Novato Blvd. Novato 897-6461
next to Alamo Travel in Bauer Bldg. at 7th/Tamalpais
M-F 8-6; Sat 10-2
Copy & fax service, packing & shipping, mail services, recycled paper products (see ad in this issue)

A Touch of Magic
258-9822
10am-5pm M-F
New Age marketing consultant. I can help you market your New Age product. Low Fees!

PRINTERS

San Anselmo Printing Inkorporated
526 Red Hill Ave., San Anselmo, CA 94960
(415) 453-3200
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Quality craftsmanship at affordable prices

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475 Gate Five Rd. Suite 100, Sausalito
332-3397
M-F 9-5:30
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Communication Engineering
1912 Sir Francis Drake, Fairfax
459-0330
M-F 8-5
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Pacifica Financial Network
John Yonnatti Certified Financial Planner
925-1212 or 488-4445
Investments with socially redeeming value; financial plans according to your goals; tax preparation; insurance

Progressive Asset Management - Thomas Van Dyck
1814 Franklin St. Suite 710, Oakland 94612
834-3722 or 1-800-527-8627
The first brokerage firm specializing in socially responsible investing. We help individuals combine their financial & social objectives into a social investment plan

Tamalpais Tax Service
Paul Graves, Tax preparation & Consulting
389-0139 by appointment
Helping the small business & self-employed reduce tax liability. Friendly, relaxed, professional

Ruth L. Zamist

Ruth L. Zamist, Certified Public Accountant
459-1077
An understanding and compassionate accountant, sensitive to the emotional issues of money and taxes. Specialist in comprehensive, year-round tax planning & preparation

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457-2802/FAX 457-2873
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Resource Directory

ANIMAL

Coalition For Cruelty Free Marin
P.O. Box 747, Corte Madera 94925
Contact: 925-1311

In Defense of Animals
816 West Francisco Blvd.,
San Rafael 94901
Contact: 453-9984

Marine Humane Society
171 Bel Marin Keys, Novato 94947
Contact: 883-3522

ARTS

Falkirk Cultural Center
1408 Mission Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Carol Adney
485-3328

Global Artists in Action
656 Throckmorton, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Mary Landsman
383-5117

Headlands Center For The Arts
944 Fort Barry, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Patricia Quill
331-2787

Headlands Institute
Golden Gate National Rec. Area
Sausalito 94965
Contact: 332-5771

EDUCATIONAL

Footloose Forays
P.O. Box 1179,
Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Michael Ellis 663-9206

Marin Discoveries
11 First St., Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Jim Stills 927-0410

Marin Education Foundation
1010 B St. Suite #300, San Rafael
94901
Contact: 459-4240

Media Tree
80 Lomita Dr. Suite 15,
Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Carol Adney 383-6903

Science Discovery Workshop
P.O. Box 638, Woodacre 94973
Contact: Georde Raddue
331-2955

Slide Ranch
2025 Shoreline Highway,
Muir Beach 94965
Contact: 381-6155

Tamalpa Institute
P.O. Box 794, Kentfield 94904
Contact: Anna Halperin 461-9479

Terwilliger Nature Center
50 El Camino Dr.,
Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Cynda Vyas
927-1670

ENVIRONMENT

Audubon Canyon Ranch
4900 Shoreline Hwy., Stinson Beach
94970
Contact: Skip Schwartz
868-9244

Bay Institute
10 Liberty Ship Way #120,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: Bill Davoren
331-2303

Bolinas Community Land Trust
P.O. Box 62, Bolinas 94924
Contact: 868-2112

Bolinas Lagoon Foundation
P.O. Box 444, Stinson Beach 94970
Contact: 526-8661

California Marine Mammal Center
Marin Headlands, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Peigin Barrett 561-7284

California Native Plant Society
1 Harrison Ave., Sausalito 94965
Contact: Fraser Muirhead

Coastwalk
57 Bridle Path Lane, Novato 94945
Contact: Walt Creber
898-1975

Dolphin Network
524 San Anselmo Ave #218,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Ed Ellesworth
454-7964

Environmental Action Committee of West Marin
P.O. Box 609,
Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: William Barrett
663-9312

Environmental Forum of Marin
P.O. Box 74, Larkspur, 94939
Contact: Barbara Perlman-Whyman
461-9321

Environmental Health Association of San Franciso
P.O. Box 575, Corte Madera 94925
Contact: 924-5141

Environmental Restoration Directory
1713C Martin Luther King Jr. Wy,
Berkeley 94709
Contact: 843-2645

Friends of the Esteros
Box 184, Tomales 94971

Golden Gate National Parks Association
Bldg. 204, Fort Mason,
San Francisco 94123
Contact: 556-2172

Golden Gate Raptor Observatory
Bldg 204, Fort Mason,
San Francisco 94123
Contact: Allen Fish
331-0730

Green Century Project
Bldg 1055 Fort Cronkhite,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: Huey Johnson

Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary
Fort Mason, San Francisco
Contact: Miles Croom
556-3509

Health & Habitat
76 Lee St., Mill Valley 94941
Contact: 383-5343

King Mountain
Open Space Association
P.O. Box 1014, Larkspur 94939
Contact: 459-2203

Marin Agricultural Land Trust
P.O. Box 809,
Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Robert Berner
663-1158

Marin Audubon Society
P.O. Box 599, Mill Valley, 94942
Contact: Barbara Salzman
472-4140

Marin Conservation League
35 Mitchell Blvd Suite 11, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Kay Slagle, Karin Urqhart
472-6170

Marin County Conservation Corps
P.O. Box 89, San Rafael 94915
Contact: 454-4554

Marin County Farm Bureau
P.O. Box 340,
Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: 663-1231

Marin County Parks & Open Space District
Rm. 335, Civic Center,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: 499-6387

Marin Greens
P.O. Box 894, Fairfax 94930
Contact: Daniel Solnit
454-5042

Marin Rainforest Action Group
20 Montevideo Way,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: Ann Maurer
459-1986

Marin Recycling & Resource Recovery Center
535 Jacoby St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 453-1404

Mow Our Weeds (MOW!)
P.O. Box 334, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Donna Sheehan
663-8483

Off Oil Network (Sierra Club)
2448 Watson Ct., Palo Alto 94303
Contact: Jeanne or Bill
326-5684

Pacific Energy & Resource Center
Bldg. 1055, Ft. Cronkhite,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: Armin Rosencranz
332-8200

Point Reyes Bird Observatory
4990 Shoreline Hwy,
Stinson Beach 94970
Contact: Bill Richardson
868-1221

Point Reyes National Seashore
National Park Service,
Point Reyes 94956
Contact: 663-1092

Regeneration West
P.O. Box 493, San Anselmo 94960

Resource Renewal Institute
Bldg. 1055, Ft. Cronkhite,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: Huey Johnson
332-8082

Richardson Bay Wildlife Sanctuary
376 Greenwood Beach Rd.,
Tiburon 94920
Contact: Beth Heining
388-2524

Ring Mountain Preserve
3152 Paradise Dr. #101,
Tiburon 94920
Contact: 435-6465

Romberg Tiburon Centers (SF State University)
P.O. Box 855, 3150 Paradise Dr,
Tiburon 94920
Contact: 435-1717

Save Horse Hill
P.O. Box 621, Mill Valley 94942
Contact: Janis Bosenko
388-0961

Sierra Club
222 Crest Rd., Novato 94945
Contact: Gail Wilhelm
453-8636

Tamalpais Conservation Club
870 Market St. #652, San Francisco 94102
Contact: 391-8021

The New Renaissance Center
Bldg 1055, Fort Cronkhite,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: 332-8082

West Marin Alliance
P.O. Box 670,
Point Reyes Station 94956

West Marin Paths
P.O. Box 844,
Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Ken Fox
663-1467

Wildlife Center
P.O. Box 957, San Rafael 94915
Contact: Jo Tomlinson
454-6961

FUNDING

Marin Community Foundation
1100 Larkspur Lndg. Cr. #180,
Larkspur 94939
Contact: Salyanne Wilson
461-3333

HUMAN RIGHTS

Amnesty International
P.O. Box 200, Albion Ct.,
Novato 94947
Contact: Jeffrey Zankel
898-7752

Marin Human Rights Commission
Rm. 423, Civic Center, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 499-6192

PEACE

20/20 Vision
P.O.Box 566, Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Martha Olsen

Beyond War
71 Mt. Lassen Dr. #d259,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: Louise Arndt
479-5100

Central American Network
1024 Sir Francis Drake,
San Anselmo 94960

Creating our Future
398 N. Ferndale, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: 381-6744

Educators For Social Responsibility
18 Seminole Ave.,
Corte Madera 94925

Friends Committee on Legislation
926 J St. #707, Sacramento 95814
Contact: (916)443-3734

Marin Center for Peace and Justice
1000 Sir Francis Drake,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: John Cook
459-5676

Marin Interfaith Task Force
25 Buena Vista, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Suzanne Bristol
454-0818

Marin Sane Freeze
72 Kensington Rd.,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Linda Eliad & Dian Allen
459-1530

Marin/Condega Sister City

1024 Sir Francis Drake,
San Anselmo 94960

Mill Valley Sister City Program

57 Lee St., Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Elly Mitchell
383-5776

For specific listings for the Gulf War see directory with article in this issue.

PERSONAL

Green Gulch
Zen Center, Star Route #1,
Sausalito 94965
Contact: Michael Sawyer
383-3134

Institute Of Noetic Science

475 Gate 5 Rd. #300, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Nola Lewis, Willis Harman
331-5650

Living/Dying Project
P.O. Box 357, Fairfax 94930
Contact: Karen Dega
387-5892

Marin Suicide Prevention Center
P.O. Box 2749, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jacqueline Spielberg
454-4566

HUMAN SERVICES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Canal Community Alliance
91 Larkspur St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 454-2640

Community Action Marin
408 4th St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Gail Theller
457-2522

Community Housing Resource Board
430 Mission Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Nancy Kenyon or
Paul Smith 457-2390

Ecumenical Association for Housing
P.O. Box 1410, San Rafael 94915
Contact: Mary Murtagh
453-4887

Family Service Agency of Marin
1005 A St. Suite 307, San Rafael
94901
Contact: Marcia Kupfer
456-3853

Gray Panthers of Marin
P.O. Box 2874, San Rafael 94912
Contact: Janet Pence
456-9038

Hospice of Marin
77 Mark St #17, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 927-2273

Human Concern Center of Marin
16 Ritter St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Susan Brown
457-8182

Innovative Housing
325 Doherty Dr., Larkspur 94939
Contact: Ann Howell
924-6400

La Familia
1480 Lincoln Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Sleikendro Montenegre
457-4260

Legal Aid Society
30 N. San Pedro #245,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: Gary James Wood
492-0230

Marin Abused Women's Services
1717 5th Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Pat Kuta
457-2464

Marin Adult Day Health Service
72 Kensington Rd.,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Kay Warren
459-6120

Marin Area Agency On Aging
Rm 257, Civic Center,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: Ellen Caulfield
499-7396

Marin Child Abuse Council
828 Mission Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 459-4499

Marin City Multi-Service Center
740 Drake Ave., Marin City 94965
Contact: Tommy Drake
332-7227

Marin Community Clinic
2398 Sir Francis Drake, Fairfax 94930
Contact: 457-7700

Marin Community Food Bank
75 Digital Dr., Novato 94949
Contact: Anne Rogers
883-1302

Marin Concerned Citizens Committee
1024 Sir Francis Drake,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Lynn Sinns
456-7805

Marin Housing
830 B St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 459-5843

Marin Museum of The American Indian
2200 Novato Blvd., Novato 94947
Contact: Katherine Volz
897-4064

Mediation Services
Rm 412. Civic Center, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Jody Anne Becker
499-6191

Ministry Of Light
1000 Sir Francis Drake,
San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jane Spahr
457-1115

Novato Ecumenical Housing
P.O. Box 428, Novato 94948
Contact: 892-8136

Novato Human Needs
P.O. Drawer R, Novato 94948
Contact: Florrie Torconi
897-4147

Older Adult Services
18 Professional Center Pkwy.,
San Rafael 94903
Contact: Grace Tomlinson or Ann Sorgen 499-6808

Prison Law Office
2171 Francisco, San Rafael 94901
Contact: 457-9144

Rainbow Coalition
400 Canal, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Dorothy Vesecky
456-3958

YMCA
1500 Los Gamos, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 492-9622

YWCA
1000 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jaimie Wiatrak
456-0782

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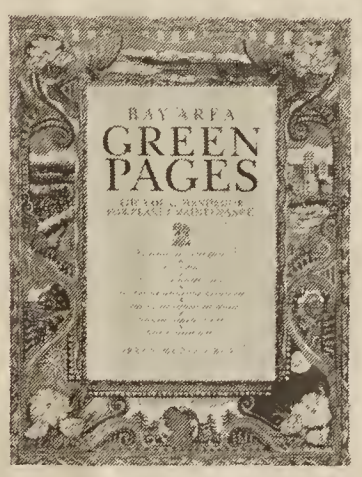

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What finer gift could you give yourself or someone else who shares your love for the great outdoors?

We must save our natural heritage from man-made drought. Please, act today. Thank you.

— HUEY D. JOHNSON,
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